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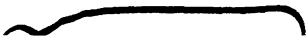
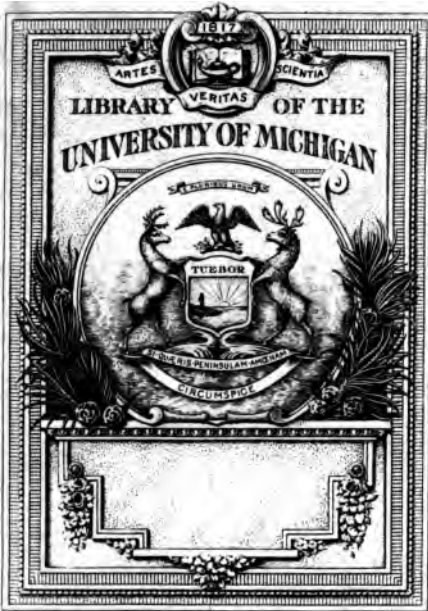
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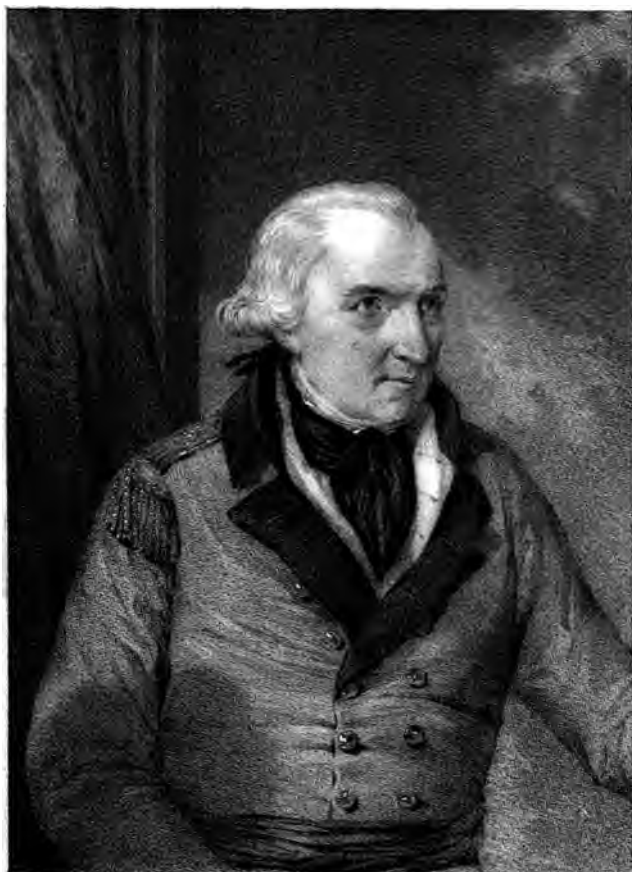
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the Stone by J. H. Lynch

Day & Haghe Lith' to the Queen

CAPT RUSSELL .

FATHER OF THO<sup>S</sup> RUSSELL .

From an original Miniature .

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Not a student

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THE



# UNITED IRISHMEN;

THEIR

LIVES AND TIMES.

BY

R. R. MADDEN, M.D., M.R.I.A.

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL PORTRAITS.

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"Une pensee doit nous consoler, c'est que le regime de la terreur ne peut renaitre, non seulement, comme je l'ai dit, parce que personne ne s'y soumettroit, mais encore parce que les causes, et les circonstances que l'ont produite ont disparu." \* \* \*

" Ces paradiates de terreur, ces terroristes de melodrame, bien capable, sans doute, de vous tuer, si vous les en defier, pour la preuve et l'honneur de la chose, seroient incapables de maintenir trois jours en permanence, l'instrument de mort qui retomberoit sur eux."—*Eudes Historiques, preface, page 281, de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand.—Edition of his Works in 1 vol. 8vo., 1838.*

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*Two's Name Madden de J.P.  
Dublin & Triode.*

MEMOIR

1800

OF

THE REV. JAMES COIGLY.

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"We see which way the stream of life doth run,  
And are enforced from our most quiet sphere,  
By the rough current of occasion."

SHAKS. *Henry IV.*—Part II. Act 4, Sc. 3.

## CHAPTER I.

THE subject of this memoir was born in the county Armagh, about the year 1762. He was descended from an ancient and distinguished race. His ancestors had taken part and suffered in the wars of Tyrone, and in those against Cromwell and King William. He alludes to his extraction, in the narrative he has left, of the leading events of his chequered career,\* "not," he says, "from vanity, but as a proof that the spirit of independence, and the love of country, had been, in some measure, hereditary in his family." One of his ancestors, O'Donnelly, the son-in-law of Tyrone, when the latter made terms with Elizabeth, declined to accept an earldom, stating, that he was unwilling to bear a title which brought with it the badge of foreign servitude. His great grandfather, with some of his brothers, had perished at the battle of the Boyne; and his father's grandsire, he states, had planned and constructed the famous boom

\* "The Life of the Rev. James Coigly, written by himself."  
London: 1798.

which was used at Fort Culmore, in the blockade of Derry; and he, and three of his brothers, were slain at Aughrim. Such reminiscences may be treated with indulgence. They refer to events, which have left a few deep traces behind them; and in Ireland, exploits are committed to the charge of genealogists, which historians have been fearful of recording.

His father, a plain honest farmer, gave him an education superior to his situation in life. The persecution which drove hundreds of his communion from the county Armagh, eventually obliged him and his family to fly to the county Louth, with the remnant of their substance. His son had been previously sent to the Irish college in Paris, then called the "College de Lombarde," where he entered in 1785, as a clerical student. He had not been long there, before he became embroiled with the Heads of the college, attempted to reform what he thought abuses, paid the usual penalty of such attempts, and in 1789 took his leave of the college and of France, having witnessed the first scenes of the French revolution. He narrowly escaped being made one of its early victims; he was taken for a French priest, of royalist principles, and menaced with being "lanternized" by the rabble. His arrival in Armagh, at that period, was unpropitious. He fled from anarchy, and his place of refuge was about to become the scene of persecution. In 1792-3, Coigly was actively engaged at Maghera, Newtown, and Magillegan, in endeavouring to check religious feuds, which were then commencing to disturb the country, between the Dissenters and Catholics. These efforts ultimately merged into the designs of the Northern United Irishmen, and Coigly, who appears to have been well known to the Belfast leaders, as a person who had great influence over the Defenders, and was supposed to have been connected with them, was early sought after, to promote the views of the Northern United Irishmen. His connection with Tandy commenced at this time; and Coigly was, probably the person, who placed Tandy in communication with the Defenders of Louth.

Coigly took a prominent part in the fruitless institution of legal proceedings against the "Wreckers," or Orangemen, of Armagh, 1794-5-6. He became a marked man, and his interference, brought down the vengeance of the persecutors, on his family, in 1796. The system of extermination had been suffered to go on, with full impunity : the frightful obligation which the perpetrators of those enormities had taken on them, was brought before the parliament; but no inquiry was instituted. These circumstances are thus adverted to, by Coigly, in his narrative :—

"Perhaps some hack or understapper will assert, that government had no official knowledge of the existence of any society or body of men having taken such an oath; but I answer, that they had more than one information upon oath concerning, or rather stating, *its existence*. Lord Gosford, governor of the county of Armagh, brought Samuel Grindall, one of my neighbours, who belonged to that society, and afterwards had withdrawn himself, before the Privy Council, and there proved every word of this shocking oath, &c. &c.; and the Attorney General, who was present, took no further notice of it, unless to protect the villains, as he did in many instances. This Church-and-King mob, calling themselves Orangemen, commenced their bloody system, by attacking my father's house, about two years ago. My helpless hoary parents, the younger of whom, is seventy-seven years, carefully avoided even the semblance of resistance, by throwing open the doors and windows at their approach; yet they wantonly fired one hundred shots into the house, one of which, slightly grazed my father's head. My mother, fell seemingly lifeless, on the spot; and though she still lives, yet, she is rather an object of general compassion, dragging on a wretched and miserable existence. My father they took prisoner, hauled him out of his own house, and, with blunderbusses directed to his head and breast, vehemently threatened his life, if he would not immediately swear to recant the errors of the Church of

Rome, and conform to the Established religion, during the remainder of his life. Though in such a perilous situation, with his usual fortitude, he boldly refused to comply, declaring, that neither threats nor promises should ever induce him to abandon his duty. One of the party interfered, and said, he would not give his consent to murder the old man, as he must soon die, at any rate; but if they should catch his sons, they would wreak their vengeance on them, by the most exquisite tortures; and, raising his voice, he said, it was well known, that this old man had given greater assistance to the poor and distressed neighbours, without distinction of religion, than any other man in the county. However, they did not spare the most minute article of his property, carrying away whatever they thought proper, such as plate, cash, bank notes, beds, bedding, wearing apparel, linen, looking-glasses, books, &c. &c., destroying the remainder on the spot; even the grates in his rooms, and surbases in his parlour, did not escape their fury; and with more than Gothic rage, they totally destroyed a choice collection of books, my property, in the Irish, English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek languages; together with materials to compose a history of the last war in Ireland, being papers never published, and in the hand-writing of the late King James; Tyrconnell, then Lord Lieutenant; Sir Richard Nagle; Sir Maurice Eustace; Pierce Butler, Viscount Galmoy; Richard Butler, Baron Dunboyne; Patrick Sarsfield, created Earl of Lucan, &c. &c. &c.....

“The above-mentioned mob proceeded afterwards to my elder brother’s house, where they committed similar outrages. He being extensively engaged in the linen manufacture, kept some hundred hands at work. Those worthy supporters of government, to do him the greater injury, destroyed his account-book entirely, containing an account of debts, to a considerable amount. During this transaction, two parties of the military, one the Clare, and the other, the Dublin City Militia, came not only in sight, but within

musket-shot of the mob, and each headed by a magistrate. To the honour of both officers and privates be it told, they burned with honest ardour to attack the miscreants; but our worthy conservators of the peace, positively refused permission, and threatened the most forward with a court-martial. Of these magistrates, suffice it to say, that one of them was a young man led astray by the hackneyed in vice, and the other has made the *amende honorable* of suicide to his country.

“ I took every means in my power to have these wretches prosecuted, and endeavoured, also, to reconcile the parties, but in vain. Flushed with success, and the hopes of support and protection of higher power, the Orangemen continued their support of government so well, that in a few months, they drove four hundred poor Catholic families out of the county of Armagh, having robbed, ravished, maimed, or murdered a great many more. Even under the tyranny of *Robespierre*, I do not find that outrages were committed, so shocking to the feelings of humanity, as on this occasion. A poor man, named M'Veagh, in the barony of O'Nieland East, was so unfortunate, as to have a handsome wife. They attacked his house, and destroyed his property; and, shocking to relate, held him a prisoner, begging for death, whilst four of these government monsters abused his wife in his presence! On different occasions, in another part of the kingdom, if an accident had happened to a bullock, or favourite ram, we had a flaming proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, offering a large reward for all concerned in such abominable practices; but, during the commission of these horrid crimes, neither proclamation nor reward came forth from the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reason of such distinction was, that, in the first case, beef and mutton were in question; but, in the latter, they were Catholics—*mere Irish*.

“ The assizes came on: I engaged Leonard Mac Nally, one of our principal barristers, to leave his



usual circuit, in order to prosecute a number of those offenders, who had been arrested through the activity of one honest Justice of Armagh ; but the Attorney-General appeared there, made a long speech, and said nothing ; took the prosecution all into his own hands, and would not permit Mr. Mac Nally, nor any of our lawyers to interfere, '*lest the prosecutions should not be carried on with sufficient zeal against such atrocious villains.*' Notwithstanding many schemes were put in practice to save each and every one of them, yet a chief ringleader and commanding captain of the banditti, William Trumball, was convicted of burglary, robbery, and wilful murder, upon the property and person of his neighbour and intimate friend, Daniel Corrigan. Now, an Irish law, framed by Mr. Attorney-General himself, requires, that any person convicted of wilful murder, should be executed within forty-eight hours after sentence. Here, it was absolutely necessary to evade that law ; because Trumball declared solemnly to me and many others in the jail, that he did not fear them—they dared not hang him ; as he was resolved, if they attempted to execute the sentence, to declare previously, the whole chain of connection and combination against the Catholics ; and thus he would bring disgrace and infamy on the leading men of the country. Of course he was respited, and at length the sentence commuted for transportation. Take notice, there were then indictments for the murder of three other Catholics, a rape, several burglaries and robberies, &c. &c., all standing against the said Trumball, but the crown lawyers would not let him be tried for any of the above offences. He was conveyed to the Cove of Cork, from whence, instead of Botany Bay, he was sent on board the fleet!! At these assizes I became more obnoxious than ever, by attempting to bring the malefactors to justice ; and was informed by a gentleman, high in the confidence of government, that the tools of administration kept a very watchful and jealous eye upon me continually."

The fact ought to be borne in mind that the Ulster

Directory had its agents in France, as well as the Leinster Directory, though the only persons recognized formally as such, by the French government, were those sent by the latter. The Northern informer, Maguan, in his disclosure of the proceedings of the different meetings of the United Irishmen, in the Counties of Down and Antrim, which he attended in the summer of 1797,\* states, that at a provincial meeting at Randaltown, the 14th of August, 1797, the members were informed, that, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the provincial delegates of Leinster and Ulster, 'a few spirited men subscribed five hundred guineas to send a person to France,' but it turned out that the person named by them had been sent ten days before by the old executive. At a provincial meeting in Dungannon, the 14th of September, 1797, it was reported to the society, that 'they had also elected an executive in Leinster which would co-operate with that of Ulster.' 'The executive of Ulster and Leinster then met, and acted in the place of a national committee.'

At a provincial meeting in Armagh, the latter end of October, 1797, it was reported that 'one of their delegates had arrived from France; that the expedition at the Texal, destined for this country, had been put off owing to the defeat of the Batavian fleet.'

At a provincial meeting in Armagh, the 14th of January, 1798, it was reported that 'one of the delegates had arrived from France.'

"That they had then eleven delegates between Hamburgh and Paris." At another meeting, on the 1st of February, it was announced that the Coigly, "then in Belfast, and formerly of the County of Louth, from which he had fled some time ago, was one of the delegates lately returned from France." "He was one of the principal persons who opened the communication with the United Britons."

Hughes, in his information before the secret com-

\* Appendix to Report of Secret Committee.

mittee, said, "that, in February, 1798, when the prisoners were being tried at the commission, Priest Coigly introduced him to the younger Binns, from England; thinks his name is Benjamin. Binns told him he had distributed most of the printed addresses, United Britons to the United Irishmen, and gave him a copy, and directed him to print an edition of it."

In 1796, Binns states that Coigly was in France, on an important mission from England, and that he became acquainted with him that year. Of the mission referred to, or of any visit of his that year to France, no mention is made in Coigly's narrative.

Whatever mission he was charged with in England, either in 1796, or more likely the early part of 1797, Binns was the agent by whom Coigly was engaged in the business. Whether he was charged with any mission at this period, from his own country, is more than doubtful. Tone makes no mention of any other Irish agent being then in Paris but himself. In the month of April, 1797, Coigly was in Ireland, he states in his narrative, that he took an active part in getting up a public meeting of the County of Armagh, for the purpose of petitioning the king for the dismissal of ministers. In a few days after the proceedings referred to, he says:—

"Some of my particular friends were arrested without cause, as appeared afterwards, and thrown into prison at Dundalk, where I lived; and, what may appear surprising, they did not attempt to arrest me, but placed the warrant in the ——'s hands. This honest man gave me notice thereof; and yet, conscious of my own innocence, I would not go out of the way, until forced to it by my friends the day following.

"Now you are in full possession of my crimes against the State—High Treason against the Beresfords, Chancellor and Co., in Ireland, and constructive treason against Pitt and Co., in England: because, as they say, not having the fear of God before my eyes, but urged thereto by the Devil, wickedly, traitorously, and maliciously, I did endeavour to prevent religious

disputes in Ireland; and did, as far as in me lay, prevent the shedding of innocent blood in that country and elsewhere: and further, I did levy war to dethrone them; did compass and imagine the political death of the aforesaid Pitt, Beresfords, &c., &c., by stirring up the peaceable freeholders, &c., to petition for their dismissal.

“It is also worthy of remark, that during these massacres in Armagh, the worthy administration shrunk from an inquiry, in the House of Commons, into the cause; indeed, they were at no loss to know the *real* cause.

“General Craddock was sent down with full powers: the military was already placed in every village, nay, at every corner, and a magistrate on every hill. The General returned to Parliament, and declared, *upon his honour, he could do nothing in it!* In order to save his character as a military man, we must suppose he had private instructions to that effect; otherwise we ought to give thanks at being so fortunate in the choice of generals this war.....

“It may be proper to observe in this place, that during the slaughter and destruction of the Catholics in Armagh, every government engine was at work, to persuade the great body of Catholics, in the South and West, that it was the Dissenters who were butchering the helpless and unprotected inhabitants of that unfortunate county. I myself have had a great deal of trouble in undeceiving them on that subject; was obliged to send, even to the County Mayo, on behalf of some poor refugees, whom that worthy smuggling justice, Sir Neil O’Donnel, had committed to gaol, for having barely told their tale of woe; and he would have had a great many more, were it not that he betrayed his intention.

‘Mentita est iniquitas sibi.’

“The Commander-in-Chief of this Orange mob, James Vernor, a man who has done every thing but what is right and just; from a common feeder and

hander of game cocks, metamorphosed into a legislator for his country, by holding, at the beck of Lord Northland, a seat for the borough of Dungannon—I say, this honourable member got up to justify the conduct of his troops, and declared that they were all true Protestants, and, though they might have committed some excesses, they happened only from their great zeal to serve the government. Be it known, also, that neither civil nor military power took any steps to prevent the destruction of the Catholics in that country; and that scarce a single family of them would now exist, in the nine counties of Ulster, had it not been for the just and spirited exertions of the Dissenters and Quakers on their behalf, who, at the hazard, and sometimes loss, of their own lives or properties, did most generously, and Christian-like, afford them every assistance and protection in their power.

“When I arrived at Liverpool, I found that my enemies had pursued me even there; and, to avoid them, set out for London, by way of Manchester; and there narrowly escaped a conspiracy to assassinate me. At length, I got, friendless and moneyless, to London—I should have acknowledged that an acquaintance, at Liverpool, gave me as much as bore my expences. When I found myself in that great city, I was really at a loss for the means of support. Unaccustomed to labour, and ashamed to beg, many days have I spent in a truly wretched manner. I should have been infinitely worse, had I not had the good fortune to form an acquaintance with some Irish Captains, whose vessels lay in the river. I had not money, when going to dinner with them, to pay my passage in one of the small boats, and was obliged to await the opportunity of one of the ship’s boats. At length, some of my countrymen, discovering my situation, made a small collection for me, of a few half guineas, half-crowns, and shillings; and an old school-fellow paid for my lodgings. In this public manner, I return them my grateful acknowledgments. Such then was the situation of a person, who is charged

with being the emissary of certain bodies, with having waited on the Executive Directory of France, with having been their confidential agent, with managing the mighty plan of subverting the power of Great Britain, all this entirely *gratis*—nay, whilst I was in a state little short of absolute want!

“An attempt having been made to arrest me, the military dress was procured, by the charitable exertions of a friend, as the best disguise. There are many this moment in London who can prove these facts. It may be asked, Why they did not appear at my trial? The answer—I saw, by the cold-blooded malice of certain gentlemen at Whitehall, what would probably be the fate of such people as should appear for me: hence, I became at once determined not to subject honest and industrious people to the all-devouring fangs of ill-gotten power. As for my part, they can only put a period to a life, fraught with continual troubles, afflictions, and persecution; and in my *death*, I trust, I shall triumph over their iniquity.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

“I embarked at Yarmouth, and arrived on the third day at Cuxhaven, and set off immediately for Bremen, with a Venetian, who furnishes our government with German horses. At Bremen, I was introduced to an Englishman, Mr. Pitt’s resident spy, for the examination of travellers: he lives at the hotel d’Oldenburg. From thence I took the great road to Amsterdam, passed through Delmenhorst, Oldenburg, and Leer, having almost miraculously escaped being murdered by the savage inhabitants of East Friesland.

“On entering the Dutch territory. I was arrested, on suspicion of being an English spy, at their frontier

\* The gentleman who procured the uniform for Coigly, recently acquainted me with all the particulars of Coigly’s flight, and that account in every particular confirms Coigly’s statement. The gentleman, referred to, is now residing in Dublin, beloved and respected by his fellow citizens of all classes. The publication of a letter of the state prisoners, in 1798, contradicting the statements of the government, recalls many recollections, and some that are connected with traits of great generosity.—R.R.M.

town of Nieu Schans ; sent under an escort to Groningen, the capital of the province ; there repeatedly examined, during three days, by different persons, in English, French, and Latin. At length they agreed to send me, under a guard, to the Commander-in-Chief at Texel : so I was conducted, a prisoner, across the provinces of Groningen and West Friesland, to the town of Harlingen, where we embarked on the Zuyder Zee, and sailed to the Texel. On our arrival there, we found that the Commander-in-Chief, General Daendels, had set off for the Hague, by Amsterdam. I was brought before General des Monceaux and the Admiral de Winter, on board a man-of-war. There I was ordered to the Hague, to appear before the Commander-in-Chief and the Committee of Public Safety. The Admiral having recollected to have seen me very often, in 1787, at the Dutch Ambassador's, at Paris, gave me a letter of recommendation to Van Leyden, at the Hague, where I was examined by the General, the Committee, &c. ; and at length, by the influence of Van Leyden, was liberated from the arrest ; he procured me, also, a permission to proceed to Paris. When I reached that city, I made application *for my property there*, and was told that every thing belonging to the Irish would be restored, but not until the end of the war. I was then without friends or interest, and had very little money in my pocket, having spent about twenty pounds on my journey, and on the point of being laid in the Temple for want of a pass, or person to be security for my good behaviour. It was my good fortune to meet an old college companion, now an officer of distinction in the regular forces. He became my security, and protected me ; offered, likewise, to procure me employment as a priest ; but, on application, it was absolutely necessary to take certain oaths. These I refused positively, choosing rather to return, and die in any manner in my own country, than swear against my conscience. \* \* \*

“ I got a passage, at length, in a neutral vessel, and

arrived in London, with a few halfpence only in my pocket; not even a hat to my head, having lost mine at sea. The honest man, whose good nature induced him to give me one on the third day after, must recollect this fact.

“ Hoping to remain unmolested in my own country, I, with difficulty, procured the necessary sum for my journey to Dublin; but was not there many days when I was informed, by good authority, that the notorious Dutton had come post to town, in a chaise and four, to arrest me; and that he had publicly declared in Dundalk, on his way, that he would at all events have my life; at the same time, shewing between four and five hundred pounds, in cash and notes, which he had got of government.\* Some years ago, through mistaken lenity, I saved this wretch from the gallows. He has sworn to my hand-writing; and here, I solemnly declare, he never saw me write a single word in my life. As to his character, which is so infamous, I shall say nothing—only thank God that he is not an Irishman.

“ My friend in Dublin, as I have already mentioned, procured me the military dress, and recommended me to take the name of Jones, as I had hitherto, from my first departure from Ireland, gone by the name of Fivey, which I believe to be the English translation of Coigly. With great difficulty I got back to London, on Sunday, the 11th of February last; though a forged letter was produced on my trial, to prove me in Manchester the 14th of the same month, when I was actually in London.

“ Before that period I never saw Mr. O'Connor in my whole life; this can be proved by the very person now in London, who introduced me to him. In a little time after, an attempt was made to arrest me, as I suppose, between nine and ten o'clock, in Piccadilly, by two Bow-street runners.” \* \* \*

Tone's references, in his diary, to his fellow-exiles

\* *Vide Secret Service-money Document; 1st Series of the "United Irishmen."*



in France, are sometimes not flattering ; and on some occasions they are unjust. Lewins, appears to have exerted a considerable influence over his opinions, and this may account for the contemptuous terms in which Coigly is spoken of, when we call to mind the rumour, on which Binns' statement was founded, that Coigly's mission to France, at the period of his arrest, was for the purpose of removing Lewins from the office of Representative of the United Irish Nation in the French metropolis ; though I believe Coigly's operations in France were to have been independant of Lewins ; and, his going to that country, had been advised by certain influential leaders, and not determined by the Directory. Tone, in his diary of the 1st of February, says, " Napper Tandy, some months ago, began cavalling against me (in Paris) with a priest of the name of Coigly, who is since gone off, no one knows whither."

It appears that Tandy called a meeting of the Irish refugees, at which Lewins's conduct was arraigned. He was then in communication with the Directory ; and the friends with whom he was chiefly associated in these matters, were Coigly and the celebrated Thomas Muir, of Scotland. The latter had recently escaped from New South Wales, after the most deplorable sufferings and toils, and perils, by sea and land, by shipwreck on the western coast of North America, near Nootka Sound, when every soul perished but Muir and two sailors ; by a journey on foot, of four thousand miles along the greater portion of the western coast of America to the city of Panama, across the Isthmus of Darien, and from thence to Cuba ; by imprisonment in that Island ; by capture on the Spanish coast, and an engagement with a British vessel, in which he was frightfully mutilated, deprived of an eye, and otherwise gravely injured. Having made his way from Spain to France, he arrived in Paris, to use his own words, in a very weak and sickly state, the 4th of February, 1798. He died at Chantilly, near Paris, in the fifty-second year of his age, the

27th of September, nearly seven months after his arrival, from the effects of the hardships he had endured, and the wounds he had received. His remains were interred in Chantilly.

Muir's escape from New South Wales was effected by American agency; a vessel called the 'Otter' was despatched from New York for this purpose, and arrived at Sydney Cove, the end of January, 1796. The master contrived to communicate to Muir the object of his visit to Sydney, and on the 11th of February, Muir succeeded in getting on board, and clear of New South Wales, to which place he had been sentenced, in 1793, to be transported for fourteen years. The British vessel of war, the 'Irresistible,' was the vessel which captured the Spanish frigate, in which Muir was found after the action, desperately wounded. The officer who had charge of sending the wounded man on shore, was a countryman of Muir's; he had found the latter weltering in his blood, apparently lifeless, with a small book, firmly grasped in one of his hands. On examining the book, which was a bible, the name of Thomas Muir was found, written in the title-page. The officer shut the book, and allowed the wounded Spaniard to be sent on shore. Muir's fellow-sufferers, whom he left in New South Wales, Messrs. Gerald, Shirving, Palmer, and Margarot, the first Reformers, did not long survive. Gerald died, the 16th March, 1796; Skirving, the 19th March, the same year.\*

## CHAPTER II.

TONE, in animadverting on Muir's interference in the business of the United Irishmen, as the coadjutor of Tandy, says, "he waited on him for the purpose of thanking him for his good intentions, and inducing

\* Life of Thomas Muir, advocated by P. Mackenzie, 1831.

him to desist from introducing their business into any communication; and that of all the vain obstinate blockheads he (Tone) ever met, he never saw his equal."

Curran entertained a very different opinion of Muir, who had been introduced to him when the former was in Ireland. It was to "the genius, and character, and the talents" of Muir he referred, when he pictured the melancholy fate of such endowments, banished to a distant barbarous soil, "condemned to pine under the horrid communion of vulgar vice, and base-born profligacy, for twice the period that ordinary calculation gives to the continuance of human life." Surely the position of the man who had suffered persecution for freedom's sake, who was looked upon by some of the first people of his own land, as a noble and an upright man, was entitled to more consideration than he appears to have met with at the hands of Tone.

Tone's impressions, with respect to Muir, as well as Coigly, were, in all probability, the result of that influence to which I have already alluded. In his diary, of the 20th of June, 1798, the following passage shows that he considered his opinion, with respect to Coigly, had been hastily formed:—"If ever I reach Ireland, and that we establish our liberty, I will be the first to propose a monument to his memory: his conduct at the hour of his death clears every thing; nothing became him in his life like the leaving of it."\*

Coigly, on his way to France, passed through London. He brought a letter of introduction to an Irish gentleman, then residing in London, in which he was described as a priest, who had rendered himself conspicuous in the North, in resisting the persecutors of the Catholic peasantry, and was then flying to France, to escape the fate of all those who interfered with their outrageous proceedings. The account I am now giving was related to me by the gentleman in question, a person whose veracity is not better known

\* Tone's Memoirs, (Washington Edition,) vol. ii. p. 461.

to his countrymen, than his unfailing services to his country, whether in the senate, on the magisterial bench, or in his capacity of a landlord, and promoter of every measure useful to his country.

Coigly was in great distress; he was assisted by this gentleman, and invited to his house on two or three occasions. Arthur O'Connor, who had recently arrived in London, dined with this gentleman, when Coigly and O'Connor met at his house, at dinner, for the first time. They had no previous acquaintance, and, at this casual meeting, the purpose of both, with respect to their intended visit to France, led to the proposal of Coigly's accompanying O'Connor to that country.

At this time, the gentleman referred to, and every Irishman who frequented his house, were vigilantly watched, by agents of a higher department than the police. That gentleman was well aware, that he never went abroad that he was not followed, at a convenient distance, by a special spy, appointed to watch his movements, as well as those of every person who visited him. This circumstance throws some light on the nature of the clue which caused the Bow-street runners to be in the foot-steps of O'Connor and his party, when they were arrested at Margate.

On the 27th of February, 1798, Coigly, Allen, and Leary, came to Margate; the former, under the name of Captain Jones; Allen, in the character of his servant; Leary went by his own name, and was the servant of O'Connor. The latter, under the name of Colonel Morriss, had arrived at Margate with Binns, who was called Mr. Williams, by another route, the same day. Binns had been previously living with his brother, in London, at the house of the Secretary of the Corresponding Society, No. 14, Plough-court. Coigly and Allen had been staying in the same house, and O'Connor had lodgings in Strattan-street; but on the night previously to his setting out for France, he slept at the house of Mr. Bell, a merchant, in Charter-house-square.

John Binns had been traced to Canterbury and Whitstable, on the 22nd of February, where he was endeavouring to make arrangements for the hire of a vessel, to convey some friends of his, who were said to be in the smuggling line, to Flushing, or to the coast of France, for which three hundred guineas were asked, and refused by Binns. He then proceeded to Deal, and partly entered into terms for a vessel for sixty or seventy guineas, and then returned to London. This arrangement, however, not having been completed, the parties proceeded to Margate, and, the morning after their arrival there, they were arrested at the Kingshead Inn, by Revett and Fugion, two Bow-street officers.

Coigly was at breakfast, in a room, in which a great-coat was found, with a pocket-book, containing several papers, one of which purported to be "An Address of the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," stating, that "the citizen who now presents their sentiments, was the bearer of them on a former occasion," and concluding with a declaration, that "their only wish was to see the hero of Italy, and his invincible legions, landed on their coast." Several Latin papers, certificates of his studies at foreign Universities, were found on him. A passport of Coigly's was found at Binns' lodgings, bearing the signature of the French authorities, in April, 1797. In O'Connor's baggage a quantity of money, to the amount of £900, was found, a military uniform, and some papers, among them a key to a correspondence with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, found at the residence of the latter, which plainly indicated the purpose of communicating with the French government. The letter found at Lord Edward's, contained the following paragraph:—"It is said that Lord Fitzwilliam is going over to Ireland, and great hopes are entertained, that he will be able to separate the Catholics from the Union. This you, and every good man, must endeavour to prevent." The prisoners were conveyed to London, examined before the Magis-

trates, at Bow-street, and the Privy Council, and finally transmitted to Maidstone jail, to abide their trial at the next assizes.

Monday, May 21st, 1798, James Coigly, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary, were put upon their trial at Maidstone, before Mr. Justice Buller, Mr. Justice Heath, and Mr. Justice Laurence. An application was made to the Court by Mr. Plumer, counsel for Messrs. Coigly and O'Connor, founded on an affidavit, setting forth that the Magistrate of the County, the Rev. Arthur Young, of Dover, had tampered with three of the persons who were called as jurymen; and his own letter to a Mr. Lloyd, of Bury, (acknowledged to have been written by him,) was read to the Court, wherein, in referring to three farmers summoned on the jury, he says—"they are much in my interest, to be sure. I exerted all my influence, to convince them how absolutely necessary it is, at the present moment, for the security of the realm, that the felons should swing. I represented to them, that the acquittal of Hardy and Co. laid the foundation of the present conspiracy, the Manchester, London Corresponding Society, &c. I urged them, by all possible means in my power, to hang them, through mercy, as a memento to others; that, had the others suffered, the deep-laid conspiracy which is coming to light, would have been necessarily crushed in its infancy. These, with many other arguments, I pressed, with a view, that they should go into Court avowedly determined in their verdict, no matter what the evidence."\*

The Judges, and Attorney-General, Mr. John Scott, (subsequently Lord Eldon,) reprobated the act of the Rev. Gentleman, and the latter said he concurred in the challenge to the three jurymen referred to.

Revett's evidence on the trial was to the following effect;—He arrested Coigly; there was a dagger

\* Report of the trial of O'Connor, Coigly, &c. p. 35.

found on his person. He was at breakfast, and asked if he would not be allowed to finish breakfast; he refused to give his name, or to acknowledge his luggage. There was a great-coat in the room, lying on a chair; he would not acknowledge it to be his. The great-coat was taken to another room, and, on searching the pocket of it, the officers found a pocket book, which Fugion examined, and said it was of great consequence. All the papers were marked, and never out of his possession, till they were marked, some in Bow-street, some at the Secretary of State's office. On his cross-examination, he said, after he seized the papers (at the hotel) he did not mark them there; he believed he was desired by the prisoners to take the papers before a Magistrate to have them marked, and sealed up. No body was in the room when he found them; he had no recollection of the papers being missing after they were brought to Bow-street. Fugion gave similar evidence; but stated that the person who read the paper, when the pocket-book was found, was a Mr. Twopenny. He had heard at Bow-street, the handkerchief which contained the papers was missing. Twopenny swore, that he saw the pocket-book taken out of the pocket of the coat while the prisoners were present, but it was then tied up in a handkerchief.

Mr. Frederick Dutton swore, two letters addressed to a person in Holland, were in Coigly's hand-writing. He had seen him write his name, and the names of others, for the purpose of getting a watch raffled, which belonged to a poor man, under sentence of death, at Dundalk, where he (Dutton) once resided. The letters in question, were dated the 24th and 26th of February. One stated—"Notwithstanding the severe prohibition carried on against our merchandize, in France, I am resolved to carry on the trade, at all events;"—addressed to Mynheer G. F. Vandeleur, Flushing. The other stated—"Being here, and hearing that there is a great seizure of all our merchandize, I write this, to inquire about it. If any thing

may be sent by sea, tell me. As I am under the necessity of attending here as a military man, write to my partner. Direct to Parkinson and Co., Manchester. We are very uneasy about the safety of the last parcel, addressed to Mynheer Vanderslang, Amsterdam." Another letter, addressed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Dutton swore, was in the hand-writing of Coigly. Dutton said, he had been a servant, and was a quarter-master in the army, since March, 1798. He had been dismissed from the service of a Mr. Carlile; had kept a public-house, at Newry, for some time, without a license; never applied to government for any reward, but had applied, by letter, to Lord Carhampton, soliciting to be made a quarter-master in the army. He had sworn in Ireland against one Lowry, and had previously sworn secrecy to the society of United Irishmen, which Lowry belonged to, but he had only been sworn on a "Reading made Easy."

Mr. Lane, formerly Under Sheriff of the county of Cork, when Mr. O'Connor filled the office of Sheriff, identified a letter, addressed to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, as being in the hand-writing of Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. Ford, one of the Under Secretaries of State for the home department, deposed, that he was present when the prisoners were examined before the council. O'Connor objected to his examination being taken down, on the grounds of its incorrectness. *Mr. O'Connor's examination before the Privy Council, however, was produced and read.* In that examination, O'Connor had denied any knowledge of Coigly, or of an intention of going to France.

Revett, the Bow-street officer, produced a book, purporting to be the constitution and test of the society of United Irishmen. The whole, at the instance of Mr. O'Connor, was read, for the purpose, as he stated, of showing the jury, "that it was not possible he could have belonged to a society of such a descrip-



tion as that of the United Irishmen appeared to be, without its being publicly and notoriously known.\*

The examination of Coigly, signed by him, before the council, was then read by the Attorney-General, said—He was no particular profession; declined to answer whether he was in orders; had no particular acquaintance with O'Connor; the examinent was in bad health; was going to Margate; the great coat, and the paper found in the pocket of it, he knew nothing about; the dagger found on his person he had bought in Capel-street, Dublin. He knew Evans, of Plough-court, but was not aware of his belonging to the Corresponding Society.

Mr. Plumer, as leading counsel for Messrs. O'Connor and Coigly, made a speech, which occupied four hours and a half in the delivery, in the defence (the report says) of both prisoners; but truth obliges me to say, that the defence of the unfortunate priest forms no part of that speech; and the few words that are devoted to the mention of his name, in conjunction with O'Connor's, nominally in his defence, were virtually in the defence of O'Connor, and to the downright prejudice of Coigly. The fault lay with the lawyer, and not with his client, O'Connor. The Lord Advocate of Scotland might truly say, many years after the event, "that man (Coigly) was not properly defended."

Binns was ably defended by Mr. Gurney; Allen, by Mr. Ferguson; and Leary, with considerable earnestness and efficiency, by Mr. Scott, (the gentleman who published, about two years ago, a letter in one of the London newspapers, signed—"A Disciple of John Horne Tooke," in which he asserted the innocence of Coigly, stating, that the paper found in his pocket, had been put there for a hoax, by Dr. Crossfield, a member of the Corresponding Society).

Jeremiah Hasset, a witness for the defence, de-

\* Report of the trial of Messrs. O'Connor, Coigly, &c., p. 69.

posed, he was keeper of the round tower, in the Castle of Dublin. Mr. O'Connor had been kept in close confinement there; suffered to see two friends, and no other persons. In the month of June, 1797, two shots had been fired by some of the Highland Fencibles, at the window of the room where O'Connor was confined. From that time, O'Connor went no more to the window.

Mr. Stuart, a magistrate in the county Tyrone, knew Coigly in Dundalk; was aware of his father's house having been wrecked by the Orange, or Peep-of-Day Boys. Coigly's moral character was good; he (Mr. Stuart) had assisted Coigly lately, with money, in London.

The Earl of Moira deposed to his having a slight knowledge of Mr. O'Connor; did not feel competent to speak of O'Connor's general character; had only one political conversation with him. The evidence of knowledge, grounded on a single conversation, was objected to by Mr. Garrow.

The Hon. Thomas Erskine deposed to his having known O'Connor three years; his acquaintances in England were people of high rank, with whom he (Mr. E.) acted in parliament. Mr. O'Connor's character was the best any man could possess; he was a man of the strictest honour and integrity, and had made great sacrifices in maintaining the opinions he thought right; he was incapable of treachery to any man, and Mr. E. knew him to possess the highest admiration and regard for the persons he associated with. He (Mr. E.) was not aware of his having any other connections, or holding any other political principles.

The Hon. Charles James Fox had known O'Connor for three or four years, and frequently conversed with him on political subjects; he lived on intimate terms of esteem and confidence with him, and with the friends of Mr. Fox, who are called the opposition. He (Mr. Fox) always considered him a person well affected to his country, a man highly enlightened and

firmly attached to the principles which seated the present family on the throne, to which principles they owed their liberty. He (Mr. Fox) was acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald; he was a near relative of his (Mr. Fox's), and believed Lord Edward was anxious to go to France, relative to some private affairs concerning his wife, who had property there.

The Earl of Suffolk had known Mr. O'Connor eleven years, and so much admired his political character, that two years ago, he introduced him to the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Llandaff, and Serjeant Adair.

The Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan said, he had known Mr. O'Connor for three years; he took a deep interest in the affairs of his country, and concerned himself so much about the grievances of Ireland, he seemed to think the people of England had none to complain of. He (Mr. Sheridan) had advised O'Connor not to remain in this country. O'Connor had said to him, "he would have to form some connections he would not wish to form, for the purpose of getting away." He never met any man in his life, who more reprobated the idea of any party in this country desiring French assistance.

The Right Hon. Henry Grattan said, he had known Mr. O'Connor since 1792; he was formerly a member of the Irish House of Commons. Mr. Grattan never imagined that Mr. O'Connor would favour an invasion of his country.

Lords John Russell, Thanet, and Oxford, and Mr. Whitbread, gave testimony, pretty nearly similar to the former, as to O'Connor's honourable character and constitutional principles.

Mr. Coigly, at the conclusion of the speech of the Attorney-General, said—"Gentlemen of the jury, it is impossible for me to prove a negative; but it is a duty I owe to you, and to myself, solemnly to declare, that I never was the bearer of any message or paper, of this kind, to France, in the course of my life. That paper is not mine: it never belonged to me. It states,

that it was to be carried by the bearer of the last. This is something which might be proved ; but it is impossible for me to prove the negative. There is, also, an allusion, in this paper, to secret committees and political societies. I declare that I never attended any political society whatever, in England. With these considerations, I consign my life to your justice, not doubting, but that you will conduct yourselves as English jurymen ever do, and that your verdict will be such, as shall receive the approbation of your God."

Mr. O'Connor said—"he was not desirous of adding a word to what had been so ably said, in his defence, by his counsel."

Mr. Allen said—"he did not think himself called upon to address the jury. He had not seen any thing in the evidence tending to criminate him."

Mr. Binns spoke in similar terms : and Leary said,—"My lord, they may do what they like with me."

Mr. Justice Buller, in his charge to the jury, leaned heavily against Coigly, throwing out many doubts, of a favourable kind, to the other prisoners. The jury having retired, for about half an hour, returned a verdict of guilty against Coigly, and not guilty against all the other prisoners.

The sentence of death was no sooner pronounced on Coigly, than an unprecedented scene took place in the court. Two Bow-street officers, stationed close to the dock, attempted to seize O'Connor, while he was yet standing at the bar. This was prevented by the court, and, in a few minutes, was again attempted. O'Connor then got into the body of the court ; on which, a considerable number of police officers rushed in, and the court was thrown into complete confusion. Two swords, which were lying on the table (produced on the trial, as part of the property of the prisoners) were drawn by some persons, and people were struck with these weapons. Several persons were knocked down, and the tumult seemed to forebode dangerous consequences.

By this time, O'Connor was seized, and dragged back again to the bar; when, silence being restored, he applied to the court for protection, and desired to know, by what authority he was seized, being then cleared from all charge, by the verdict of the jury. Whereupon, the officers produced a warrant, signed by the Duke of Portland, dated so far back as the 22nd of March, for O'Connor's arrest, on a charge of high treason. O'Connor, appealing to the court, said, "May I be permitted to say a few words?"

Mr. Justice Buller inquired what he had to say.

O'Connor proceeded—"Will the officers take their hands off? If I am again to be confined, may I not beg the indulgence of being sent to the same place as my brother. I have seen swords drawn upon me after my acquittal in this court. I am not afraid of death. If I am to die, let me die here! Life is not worth preserving, on the terms which I now hold it—to waste it out in loathsome dungeons. Another confinement will soon be fatal to me."

He was then remanded back into the custody of the jailor. Binns and Allen were liberated the following morning; and Coigly, who, during this extraordinary scene, had stood perfectly calm, and apparently, the only unconcerned spectator of it in the court, was removed from the dock, to one of the condemned cells in Maidstone jail.

### CHAPTER III.

THE interval between the trial and execution, he employed, in writing the narrative, which I have quoted in the preceding pages, and a series of letters, explanatory of the circumstances which precluded him from providing evidence to rebut the testimony of the notorious Dutton, and of availing himself of the offers of a commutation of his sentence, on the condition, of his giving information, to inculcate the bro-

ther of the prisoner Binns. The following details are extracted from these letters, which are appended to the printed narrative, in reference to an application made by him, for the assistance of a Roman Catholic clergyman, when one was despatched from London, through the intervention of the Secretary of State for the Home department, who, for nine days, exhausted every effort to induce the prisoner, "to make, what he called, important discoveries."

Coigly states, that to the many authorities which were cited, to induce him to make the required discoveries, (and the principal object of these discoveries appear to have been, the inculpation of two persons, one of whom was his intimate friend, B. P. Binns, the other, O'Connor), he replied in the language of the Apostle John—"Majorem hoc charitatem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat pro amicis suis."

It appears the spiritual assistance he sought, was deferred,—Coigly says, refused,—in consequence of his determination; and, labouring under this impression, he speaks of the conduct of his spiritual assistant, in terms which I abstain from citing; because Coigly, at his last hour, expressed regret for the severity of his remarks, in respect to this gentleman, with whom he had then been reconciled, and certainly, without any discovery or inculpation of, on the part of Coigly, any party.

It is necessary, however, to refer to his account of the applications made to him, to make disclosures:—

"I had applied for a priest to attend me in prison, and was asked by the Sub-Sheriff if there was any particular person whom I would wish to have. I named one in London. He wrote immediately to express my wish to the Secretary of State; the gentlemen of that department rejoiced at such an opportunity. A Catholic bishop, Superior of the priests, in the London district, was applied to. Unexpected favours from those in power usually lay people under weighty obligations: hence Dr. Douglas engaged to find a proper person. Was it the priest I called for by

name?—No! Was he an Irishman?—No Irishman could be trusted in such important business. A Mr. Griffiths is appointed—a gentleman fully acquainted with gaol affairs. In the first instance, he receives his cue, with proper instructions from Dr. Douglas, in the presence, and with the concurrence of some of his clergy. To be further drilled, he is then sent to a Mr. Wickham, an Under-Secretary of State. After a long conference with that gentleman, he comes to the keeper of my prison, with credentials from the Duke of Portland, authorizing him to see me when he pleased, and strictly forbidding him to permit any other priest to see me at any time; and the fact is, another priest was prevented even since my conviction.

“ On Mr. Griffith’s arrival, he produced to me his testimonials as a priest, in order that I might speak to him, with that perfect confidence that should exist between a penitent and his confessor, according to the rules of the Catholic religion. I did so, as became a zealous Christian; and gave him a brief history of my whole life, with that candour and openness of mind which always characterizes an honest Irishman. He then stated the apprehensions entertained by the Administration of this country, of a powerful conspiracy against them in Ireland, England, and Scotland; and they were certain I could give them the necessary information concerning it—consequently, expected every assistance from me. Not only my life, *which they told him was in their hands*, would be spared, and myself sufficiently provided for; but, also, my aged and helpless parents, my brothers, particularly the youngest, who is a junior officer in the army, and, in a word, all my friends, would be well rewarded by a grateful government. On the contrary, I should suffer in my own person the severest punishment the law could inflict; my whole family would be persecuted, (and here he dwelt upon the natural obligation I lay under to save and protect my hoary parents from afflictions and persecutions); the

Catholics, both of England and Ireland, would share in my disgrace and persecution, particularly the Catholic noblemen of both countries, who, though they at present stood well with the Minister, would suffer extremely, and would never be trusted by him; for his own part, he entertained no good opinion as to the religion of the aforesaid noblemen, (save the Earl of Fingall,) and, in particular, that of Lord Petre. Next—a grand point, indeed!—the indelible scandal, disgrace, and disrepute into which my brethren, the Catholic Clergy, would fall by my refusal and untimely fate. Then he made use of the arguments I have already mentioned, and urged the natural obligation every member of society is under to disclose and discover every thing that may be of use to the State. Finally, it was the positive decision of Dr. Douglas, that if I did not comply with the desires of the Administration, I could not have the attendance of a Catholic priest, and the sacraments would be refused me as an infidel! I was expressly asked, if I could swear against my fellow-prisoners, Mr. O'Connor, &c. ! In my opinion, it is unnecessary to relate all my answers to the above arguments. Suffice it to say, that truth in my mouth did not leave a shadow of difficulty in them. I could not make the proposed discoveries, and never would attempt to save my life by swearing against any man.”.....

“*Maidstone Gaol, June 3, 1798.*

“MY DEAR FRIEND—How unfeeling it is to harass and torment a person thus! I have suffered enough already, without being perplexed in my last moments by ill-timed remonstrances from the clergy. That I have been, and am strictly and firmly attached to the Catholic religion, no one of my acquaintance can doubt; if any one thinks or says otherwise, he does me an injustice; and though it is probable I may not have the assistance of a brother priest at my execution, yet I am not the less attached to my religion, notwithstanding I have, through life, made it my busi-



ness, as a conscientious duty, to oppose, at any risk, with honest firmness, all doctrines, whether broached in church or state, which appeared of a dangerous tendency.

“ The priest who attended me some weeks ago, called on me again on Tuesday, the 29th of May. He had with him a newspaper, containing the publication of a letter, with my signature. Of this letter he made bitter complaints, saying it attacked religion, my character, and put his life in danger ; insisted that I should disavow it in the public prints, and left me to reflect on it during the night. Next day we spent four hours in disputation. I refused to have any thing to do with public prints ; but offered to testify my good opinion of him before my death, provided he behaved, as in my mind became a pious clergyman, unconnected with state tricks.....

“ Here he told me he had some three or four questions, relative to discoveries or informations, to put to me ; that they did not come from the bishop, but from another person, whose name he did not choose to mention—one of which went to criminate B. Binns, a person now in custody ; and yet he always pretended to disavow the desire of criminating any one, but only a wish to serve the government in a general way. On my declaring that I could not give him the wished-for information on that subject, he said, in a very significant manner, *that he was very sorry it was not in his power to promise me a reprieve, or even a respite.* I answered, that the first I did not expect, and the second I did not wish for.

“ He seems very unwilling that I should make any declaration at the place of execution, or any address to my countrymen—as, he says, it might weaken the government, and hence must be uncharitable ; but I shall not be controuled in these points. Indeed, he attempts to justify, not only the government, but also the crown lawyers, in their proceedings ; and says, they had no design upon my life, as *their whole aim was directed against Mr. O'Connor.* Whence he

derives his information, I think it not worthy my notice to inquire; but it is evidently from no mean authority. Previous to his departure for London, he asked me to call on the Sheriff for any particular priest who would be more pleasing to me; and earnestly desired to know if I had any objection to himself, as he wished to attend me at my last hour. My answer was brief, I would not call any particular priest; such a person might be subjected to persecution. I had no objection to him, nor to any other authorized clergyman; but he must first divest himself of the principles for which he contended so warmly."

#### MR. COIGLY'S OBSERVATIONS ON HIS TRIAL.

*" Maidstone Gaol, 25th May, 1798.*

" MY DEAR AND EXCELLENT FRIEND!—The awful sentence is past—I thank God I heard it as became that conscious innocence which I know will inspire me with the same fortitude to the last moments of my life.

" To shew the chain of connection and high authority from whence the offer of life was made by the priest who attended me, if I would betray my fellow-prisoners—know, my friend, that the Lord Chancellor of England, when I was examined before the Privy Council, urged the same thing, in very pointed terms: for, at my last examination, when I declined to answer any further questions, he said, that although I did so, the Privy Council would attend my summons at any time; and if I should be disposed to be more explicit, it would be attended with *personal indulgence* and other advantages which he could not then explain further!

" Speaking of the Privy Council, I cannot help expressing my surprise and horror at the production of my examination, (in which that proposal, with many other facts of consequence to me, were omitted,) as evidence *against* me; and I hope that my doing this will be a solemn warning to all men, not to be en-

trapped to answer any questions, if it should be their unhappy fate to fall into the hands of that Council. They warned me, it is true, before the examination commenced, not to answer any questions that might tend to criminate myself; but they cautioned me also, rather than *deny* any thing that they should charge against me, to *decline answering the question they should put respecting it*; for, if I *denied* what they could *prove*, that *denial* would be evidence against me; and moreover, they assured me, that the purpose of the examination was not to *criminate me*, but to give me an opportunity of *clearing myself* of the suspicion which hung over me. Indeed, Mr. Dundas called the examination, not an Inquisition, but an *Indulgence*: yet, my friend, this examination, which I was thus assured was not to criminate me—this opportunity of clearing myself—this indulgence—yes, *the very questions I declined to answer*, with the fact of my declining to answer them—horrible to relate! were produced by Mr. Ford, who took down the examination, in his own way, in writing, as evidence *against* me. Need I say more, to deter others from sacrificing themselves and betraying their friends? May God grant them the good sense and the fortitude to answer no question, *however trivial* they may think it, to Privy Councillors or Magistrates; for, if you answer their questions, ‘out of your own mouth shall you be judged,’ and not by evidence given in due course of law.

“It will strike you with horror, my dear friend, when I tell you, that all the witnesses who swore against me, except five, perjured themselves, or at least swore to circumstances, which, although they might possibly think them true, were in fact utterly false.....

“Twopenny, Fugion, and Rivett, swore that the paper, in question, was found by Rivett in a pocket-book, in the pocket of that great coat, *which I declare most solemnly, in the face of my country and my God, was false, unless one of them, or some other person unknown to me, put it there.....*

“The last of these witnesses was the notorious informer, Frederick Dutton, of Newry, who swore to my hand-writing, and had the audacity to say that he had frequently seen me write; which, I declare to God, is false. Against this man, although I was well prepared to do it, I called no witness, because he had sufficiently disgraced himself on his cross-examination, of which, however, the learned Judge, in summing up the evidence to the jury, took but very little notice. I think he ought to have taken serious notice of it; more especially as, in the course of the trial, Mr. Lane, a man against whose character there appeared *no* imputation, and who, from his official situation as Under-Sheriff to Mr. O'Connor, when Sheriff of the County of Cork, *had ample means of becoming well acquainted with Mr. O'Connor's hand-writing*, was called upon to prove it, and swore, that a letter signed *A. T. S.* inclosing me a bank note of £10, was *Mr. O'Connor's* hand-writing. This was *positively contradicted* by my generous, virtuous, and excellent friend, Alexander Thomas Stewart, Esq., a Magistrate of the Counties of Down and Armagh, and formerly Sheriff of the latter county, who providentially happened to be in attendance here as a witness to my character. The letter signed *A. T. S.* WAS HIS, and *he manfully avowed it.....*

“The Judge thought fit to observe to the jury, that although so many noble witnesses had been called to Mr. O'Connor's character, not one, or only one, had been called to mine, who, he said, had *merely* proved it was a *good moral character*. It was in evidence that Mr. O'Connor was a rich man, and that I was poor—and without the ability to bear the enormous load of expense of bringing witnesses from my native country into this, where I am a stranger—a distance, in coming and going back, of nearly a thousand miles.

“It appears, from the traitorous paper for which I am doomed to die, that it was intended to be taken to France, by the person who had been the bearer of

a former address, from the Secret Committee of England. The Judge, however, omitted to state to the jury, that the *only* evidence in the cause, of my having been in France, was a passport, *said* to be found in a trunk, *said*, but *not proved*, to be Mr. Binns's, with letters proved only by the infamous Dutton to be my hand-writing; and that that passport proved no more than that *I had been in France, not that I was the bearer of any former address there.....*

“The learned Judge omitted, also, to give *me* the benefit he gave Mr. O'Connor, of stating to the Jury, that it was not proved that I was a member of any political society in this country or my own, although I had urged the circumstances in the short address I made to the court after my counsel had closed my defence.

“The Judge omitted also even to state to the jury, much less *to point*, and press upon their serious consideration, a circumstance, which, unless they thought me totally void of common prudence and common sense, *must* have rendered it next to an impossibility for them to believe *that I was possessed of the traitorous paper in question*. I mean that part of the evidence of Stephen Perkins, of Whitstable, where he swore, ‘that he had warned *me personally*, that an information was laid against me and my fellow-travellers, as persons suspected, *from our conversation on board the Hoy*, of intending to go to France *with some improper things in our possession*; and that, after our luggage had been searched, he repeated that warning, (as was the fact,) by telling *ME AGAIN that our danger was not yet over, for we should be searched again WHEN WE GOT TO MARGATE*.’ And yet, strange and incredible to relate! the traitorous paper in question—a paper which, after two *such* warnings, none but an idiot or a madman would have kept in his pocket—such a paper, under *such* circumstances, is said and believed to have been found in my pocket *the next day AT MARGATE*! And for this I am doomed to die!

“ You will perceive, my dear friend, that in what I have here stated to you, I have contented myself with a simple relation of facts, accompanied with only a few short observations on the conduct and character of my prosecutors and their witnesses; leaving the rest to the reflection and judgment of my *country* and *posterity*. When the prejudices of the day shall have passed away like the shadow of a dark cloud, justice, I doubt not, will be done to my memory, and to theirs.

“ Adieu, my dear friend. That Heaven may defend and prosper you, is the dying prayer of your friend,  
“ JAMES COIGLY.”

Another letter, addressed to the same friend, concludes with these words:—

“ I have not courage to write to my father. May the God of our forefathers give him, and my distressed mother, consolation.”\*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.†

“ *Maidstone Gaol, June 5, 1798.*

“ SIR—Were I not certain of immediate execution, I would not take the liberty of sending you these my last lines, by way of a memento of a person legally ..... I WILL readily admit, that you were not originally a party in the conspiracy to.....me: but I will ask you, sir, in the face of your country, is it possible you could hold your situation, and proceed in it as you did, without the knowledge of at least a part of the.....committed against me? According to your own technical phraseology, I shall give you a case in point. You were present in the Privy Council Chamber when Mr. Ford read over my examination. I was asked by Messrs Grenville and Pitt, was it

\* The letter, from which the above passage was extracted, was published in a London paper previously to Coigly's execution; Derry, to whom it was addressed, complains of its publication.

† The late Lord Eldon.

correctly taken down? I answered, it was not—that many of my answers were not mentioned at all, and, when they were, it was not in my words, but changed to a different meaning. Now, sir, you were also present in the court at Maidstone, when Mr. Ford swore the contrary; that is, he swore that I made no objection whatever to sign it on the score of authenticity or correctness: and he also swore that he took down every thing material in my answers; whereas, sir, you know the contrary. I call upon you to testify the truth hereafter, though you were silent when Mr. Ford ....., to your knowledge. Yes! you know that I was repeatedly pressed by Mr. Pitt to answer. Was I, or not, a member of the corresponding society? Was I, or not, connected with it, the Whig Club, or some other political societies in this country? Did I, or not, attend meetings of such societies at Furnival's Inn Cellar, or elsewhere? To all of these questions I answered directly—that I never was a member of any political society in Great Britain—that I never attended any of their meetings in Furnival's Inn Cellar, or elsewhere, either public or private. Now, sir, I repeat the question, and urge it home to you, Were you not present, and silent, in the court, when Mr. Ford ..... on that point? Did you not declare in court, repeatedly, that from your situation as Public Accuser, you were bound to protect me from any injustice whatever? Did you fulfil your promise?—I have known many Attorney-Generals rather inclined to the *punica fides*. Two of them were remarkable—Monsieur Joli de Fleury, Attorney-General to Lewis XVI; and Fouquier Tinville, Attorney-General to Robespierre.”.....

In another letter to the Duke of Portland, dated the 6th of June, he concludes some animadversions on the proceedings carried on against him, by telling his Grace that “he, (Coigly,) was one of his Lordship's messengers extraordinary to the other world, charged with tidings of his mild and merciful administration.”

## CHAPTER IV.

IN one of the letters from which the preceding extracts are taken, Coigly refers to the pecuniary assistance he had from some friends, unnamed, during his imprisonment. "The efforts," he says, "my friends have made to save my life, must be deeply pleasing to them; to me, and all honest minds. 'Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, fratres, sorores, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium charitatis patria una complexa est: pro qua qui bonus dubitet mortem oppetere.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The assistance rendered Coigly, which enabled him to employ counsel, and make his defence, was afforded to him by the same gentleman to whom I have already referred, as the person who introduced him to O'Connor, at his residence, in London. I state the fact, on the authority of that gentleman. He had been applied to, by a friend of Coigly's, for some pecuniary assistance, previous to the trial of the latter. This gentleman contributed (amply, I presume, on the occasion), and wrote likewise, to a friend of his, Mr. Henry, of Straffan, on the subject of the communication made to him. Mr. Henry replied to his letter, generously placing at his disposal £500. His generosity, however, was only taxed to the extent of £50, which was applied, along with his own contribution, to the defence of Coigly. In a letter of this gentleman, to a mutual acquaintance, mention was made of the liberal act of Mr. Henry, who was referred to in that letter as "Little Henry." The letter fell into the hands of government, and the person designated "Little Henry," was presumed to be Mr. Henry Grattan. Binns, in a letter on the subject of Coigly's trial and execution, published in M'Kenzie's Gazette, February 7, 1840, refers to the assistance afforded to him for his defence.†

\* Cicero de Officiis.

† "I well recollect, at the time antecedent to the trial of Coigly and others, being present myself, during the short period of ten



In the newspapers of the day we find an account of Mr. Grattan being called before the Privy Council, and subjected to an examination, which terminated in Mr. Grattan being permitted to withdraw, "circumstances having transpired, which showed, that Mr. Grattan had been mistaken for an Irish gentleman of distinction, who had recently come over from Ireland, from whom some explanations were required."

The gentleman I have referred to, was not the only person of distinction who felt for the unfortunate man, and expressed feelings of commiseration for him. Sir James Macintosh was publicly rebuked, by the celebrated scholar, Dr. Parr, for giving utterance to sentiments in his regard of an opposite kind. Sir James, who was, at that period, on all convenient occasions, giving proofs of the sincerity of his conversion from Gallican principles, was reviling, in no measured terms, the *Irish rebel priest*, who had been recently condemned at Maidstone. Dr. Parr manifested his repugnance at the terms in which the unfortunate Coigly was spoken of. He said to Macintosh—"The man might have been worse, Jemmy, than you have described him. He was an Irishman—he might have been a Scotchman; he was a priest—he might have been a lawyer; he was a rebel—but he might have been a renegade."

On the 6th of June, at five o'clock in the evening, the jailor, Mr. Watson, informed Coigly, that the order had arrived, for his execution on the following day, at one o'clock. Mr. Watson had treated the prisoner with the greatest humanity, and was very much agitated in communicating the intelligence. Coigly received it with composure. He was permitted to have an interview with his friend, Mr.

days, between my liberation by the Privy Council and second arrest, that \_\_\_\_\_ gave 300 guineas to defend him, by a check on his banker in London, in the Chamber of Councillors, \_\_\_\_\_, in the Temple. Well, Sir, Billy Pitt had \_\_\_\_\_ arrested, by his Lettres de Catchet, and sent to prison, where he remained for three long years. In fact, the personal liberty of every man then, was at the caprice of Billy Pitt.

"B. P. BINNS."

Derry, a distant relative, to whom he had previously committed the charge of publishing the narrative of his life. Pains were successfully taken to keep the time of execution a secret. At half-past ten in the morning of the 7th, there were only three people on the ground where the gallows was erected at Penenden-heath. It was generally known, in Maidstone, that offers of pardon had been made to the prisoner, on the condition of his making disclosures; and the opinion was, that he would ultimately avail himself of those offers, and, consequently, that the execution would not take place. The good people of Maidstone knew little of Coigly's character. On Wednesday night he went to bed, at his usual time. Two convicts were placed in the cell with him, and he complained in the morning, that their conversation had deprived him of the rest he required, to give him strength to meet his fate in a becoming manner. He partook, however, of his breakfast, and manifested his usual fortitude. The Rev. Mr. Griffiths had come from London, on Wednesday night, to afford him spiritual assistance. He remained with him till ten o'clock, and was again with him at eight the following morning.

Before he was taken from the prison, his friend, Mr. Derry, having obtained an interview with him, and expressed a desire to receive any communication he had to make, and to fulfil any wishes of his, Coigly said, his mind was perfectly at ease on every point but one,—“falsehoods respecting him, he had been informed, had been inserted in some papers, stating him to have made certain disclosures;” and when the gentleman assured him, that no misrepresentation should go uncontradicted; Coigly replied, “I am relieved from the only anxiety that was on my mind.”

About eleven o'clock, the sad cortege proceeded from the jail to Penenden-heath, which is about a mile distant. Coigly was dressed in a suit of black; his head was uncovered; his hair, which was grey, though not from age, was closely cropped; his shirt-collar

was open—he wore no neckcloth. His arms were tied ; and the rope with which he was to be executed, was thrown over his shoulders. He stepped into the hurdle, which consisted of a large deal chest, with two boards for seats, placed across it ; and on his sitting down, an iron chain was fixed round his waist. The hurdle was drawn by three horses to the place of execution, at a slow pace. Coigly sat with his face to the horses, and opposite to him, the executioner was placed. The jailor was on horseback, accompanied by about two hundred of the Maidstone Volunteers. The deputy-sheriff, Mr. Hodges, and the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, followed at a little distance. Coigly continued reading a prayer-book the whole way to the place of execution.

On arriving at the place of execution, he rose up, and standing on the hurdle, read aloud a long prayer, in Latin, though apparently oppressed with the heat of the weather and the dust, to which he had been exposed on the road from Maidstone. While the preparations were making for the execution, he continued his devotions. He beckoned to his friend, who had followed him from Maidstone, to approach him ; took a penknife from his waistcoat-pocket, which he had contrived to conceal, presented it to him, and requested he would cut an orange with it, observing, they need not have been afraid of trusting him with it. He then knelt down on the hurdle, recited another prayer, and was about to mount the scaffold, when the clergyman who attended him, spoke to him with great earnestness of manner, but in a low tone of voice ; and the only words frequently repeated, which were heard by his friend, were, “ But, consider ! consider ! ” Coigly shook his head, and replied, “ No ! no ! ”

Whether the importunity was with a view to obtain an acknowledgment of the justice of his sentence, or disclosures which might still have been available, was unknown. The clergyman finally relinquished his importunities, begged his pardon, and expressed a hope, that Coigly “ was satisfied he had only done his

duty." The latter replied in the affirmative; whereupon, having made the sign of the cross, the report states, that Mr. Griffiths gave him absolution. If this part of the statement be correct, it would appear, that the deprivation of the rites of his religion had been continued, with the view of effecting an object, which might better have been committed to the charge of the officials of the jail. When he ascended the temporary scaffold, he spoke at considerable length, protesting his innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and denying his being a member of any political society in *Great Britain*. "And he declared, by the hopes he confidently felt of salvation and happiness in a future state, that his life was *falsely and maliciously taken away* by perjury, and subornation of perjury; in some case, proceeding from mistake, but in others, from design. He had long been persecuted by the government of Ireland. The cause of that persecution was, that he had taught the people to believe, that no man could serve his God, by persecuting others for religious opinions. For that reason, he had been given up to a persecuting spirit.

"The second cause of persecution, arose out of occurrences in a contested election. His father and brother were both freeholders, and he was supposed to have advised them to vote for the opposition candidate. The third and final cause of his persecution, (which had been supported by charges on oath subsequently retracted), was, his having been very active and instrumental in procuring a long address to the king, to put an end to a calamitous and destructive war, and to dismiss those ministers, who were falsely called his Majesty's servants. He forgave all those who had a share in his murder, for, he repeated, that it was murder."

After expressing his conviction, that justice would hereafter be done to his memory, and a hope, that his fate would be a warning to jurors, he said—"Some little disputes had taken place between him and his brother clergyman, who had attended him, but they

had been amicably settled; and if he had said any thing to his prejudice, he sincerely asked his pardon." He concluded, by praying "the Almighty God to forgive all his enemies; to forgive him the many sins he had to answer for,—they were the sins of his private life, and not the charge for which he died. That the Lord might have mercy on him, and receive his soul." He then gave the signal, and, in a few minutes, he was in the presence of his Maker.

Throughout the whole of these awful proceedings, the report, from which I have taken the preceding account, states, that he displayed the most perfect firmness and composure. There was neither levity, nor indifference, nor bravado, in his behaviour. He was calm, collected, grave, and undaunted. When the body was taken down, a young man, a surgeon, presented himself on the platform, put on a yellow linen dress, and executed the remaining part of the sentence—the cutting off of the head. The name of this unworthy member of an honourable profession has not been given; probably, had it been recorded, its infamy would have been found associated with that of the whole of a career in keeping with its onset. The remains of this unfortunate gentleman were buried on the spot where the execution took place.

In the narrative of Coigly it is to be observed, that no allusion is made to the author's connection with the society of United Irishmen. There is no doubt, however, but that he was a member of that society, and very actively engaged in extending its circle in 1797. I am acquainted with persons of wealth and station in society, who had been sworn into that society by him. The narrative was written subsequently to his conviction, and was committed to the charge of Mr. Valentine Derry.\* A few days after this document had

\* The name of Valentine Derry is found in the documentary evidence laid before the committee of the House of Lords, on the Fugitive Bill, the 25th of August, 1798. "It appears, that Valentine Derry, late a prisoner in the town of Dundalk, attended a provincial meeting of the United Irishmen, at Armagh, as a delegate from the committee of the United Irishmen of Louth."

got into the hands of Derry, a portion of it appeared in the form, in which it was subsequently published as a pamphlet, in one of the London newspapers. The evident object of giving publicity to it was, to create an impression of the prisoner's innocence, that might cause a remission of his sentence. There is great reason to believe, that not only omissions of matter were made with this view, by the person who gave it publicity, but that declarations of innocence were given in that published statement, which were never made by Coigly. These evidently spurious passages I have not transcribed. There is a sample of the contradictions of these statements imputed to him, in an address to his countrymen, appended to his narrative, wherein the principles of the United Irishmen are undisguisedly advocated by him. In the declarations of innocence in the narrative, there is, moreover, a discrepancy with that which was given in the account of his last moments, appended to the report of the trial. In one, he is made to state, "that he never was a member of the Corresponding, or any other Society, in *Great Britain*;" in the other report, he is stated to have said, "he never was a member of the Corresponding, or any other Society, *in this, or any other kingdom.*"

The account of the execution, appended to the trial, was evidently drawn up by a person who had access to the narrative, for some portions of the latter are therein given in the same words; and the whole tenor of Coigly's conduct, during his imprisonment, and at the place of execution, is so favourable to the bearing and deportment of the prisoner, and expressive of so much sympathy with his fate, that it is impossible to ascribe it to a reporter of the English press, at that period, who was unacquainted with the prisoner, and who might be supposed more likely to be adverse, than otherwise, to his political opinions. Walter Cox was in Maidstone at the period of his trial; and a friend, whose name is not given in the report, who is described as a new acquaintance of the prisoner, is

said to have attended him to the place of execution. Binns states that Derry was with him on that occasion; but either one or the other, who attended him to the place of execution, (most probably Cox,) must have communicated to the reporter the account in question, and procured it to be inserted in that report, so that truth had been sacrificed, not by the dying man, but by an injudicious and unscrupulous friend. Cox was in the habit of doing similar things, with the view of making martyrs of his associates, describing them as persons of whose innocence of every particular of legal crime laid to their charge, there could be no doubt, and blackening their prosecutors' motives and proceedings to the utmost possible extent. It was with this design, that he introduced a surreptitious passage into the speech of Robert Emmet, which he published in his *Irish Magazine*, wherein Emmet was made to tell Lord Norbury, "that if all the blood his Lordship ever spilt was collected in one reservoir, and great, indeed, it would need to be, to contain it, his Lordship might literally swim in it." The words were never spoken by Emmet.

In the first series of this work, it was said to have been stated by A. O'Connor, that the address of an English Society, found in the great-coat pocket of Coigly, at Margate, must have been placed there by the police agents. In a written statement, however, on that subject, in the hand-writing of A. O'Connor, now before me, the following account of that affair is given:—"Though there was no legal evidence to prove that the paper was Coigly's, yet the fact is, it was his, and was found in his riding-coat (pocket), for, when the five prisoners were brought to Bow-street, a report was spread, that the papers taken on the prisoners were lost; Coigly, for the first time, said, it was fortunate the papers were lost, for that there was one in his pocket, which would hang them all. He never made a secret to us, his fellow-prisoners, that he had got that paper from a London Society. In my memoirs I will clear up this point."

This account corresponds with Binns' statement, in the material point of the paper having been in the possession of Coigly, and of its having been given to him to convey to France. O'Connor states it was given by a society; Binns says, by Dr. Crossfield, and leaves it to be inferred, that Coigly took charge of it, as an ordinary communication, merely to oblige a friend. It is, however, impossible to put this construction upon it. Binns plainly states, that Coigly had been the bearer of a previous communication from England to France, of great political importance, in 1796. The fact of his being the bearer of a former communication, is referred to in the paper found in the pocket of his coat. Binns states, the former communications, emanated from the Secret Committee of England, composed of delegates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, as a Directory. It is, therefore, very difficult to believe that Coigly was ignorant of the nature of the paper given him by Crossfield, a gentleman well known to be one of the leading members of the revolutionary societies of this period. It is no less difficult to account for the solemn declaration, ascribed to Coigly, of his total ignorance of the existence of this paper, or of his firm persuasion of its having been introduced into his pocket by the police officers.

Coigly was proceeding to France, according to Binns's statement, on a distinct mission from the United Irishmen in Dublin. Advantage was taken of his intended visit to France, by Dr. Crossfield, to convey the address of the English Society; and being thus casually, on this occasion, made the bearer of it, Coigly was charged with going to France on a specific mission from the English Society, which was not the fact; but, in the spurious passages I have already referred to, he is made not only to deny the specific charge, which was unfounded, but the particulars connected with it, which were undoubtedly true. He was convicted on the specific charge of proceeding to France, on a treasonable mission, from a Secret So-



ciety in England, bearing a treasonable document, of which he had a guilty knowledge.

The first part of the accusation was unfounded, and the second was not proved. There can be no question, but that the evidence did not warrant his conviction. One of the counsel for the crown, Mr. Adam, subsequently Lord Commissioner of the Jury-Court of Scotland, declared to Mr. Scott, the counsel for one of the prisoners, that Coigly had not been properly defended. It would have been too much to have expected from the Lord Commissioner, an acknowledgment that a prisoner had been wrongfully convicted.\*

The crime that he was charged with, was that of being an emissary of a Secret Society in England, taken in the act of leaving the kingdom, for the especial purpose, as I have already stated, of furthering the views of that society. Of that crime he was innocent; and at every stage of the proceedings, and on every occasion afforded to him, before the Privy Council, on his trial, in his narrative, and at the place of execution, he protested his innocence of that charge. On the last occasion he did so, in terms which plainly showed that his participation in the designs of the Secret Societies in Ireland, could not be denied with truth; therefore, the declaration of his innocence was restricted to the charges brought against him, of being a member of a treasonable society in England, and of going to France in the character of an emissary of it. In his narrative, the matter found there, intended to establish his innocence, not only of the latter charge, but of the former; differing, as it does, in style from the other portions of that document, and at variance with Coigly's character, as well as with the declaration made at the place of execution, was evidently communicated by one of his injudicious friends to the reporter of the trial, as well as one of the letters of Coigly, addressed to Derry,

\* *Vide* Letter of Mr. Scott cited in "The United Irishmen," first series, vol. ii. p. 409.

which could only have been obtained from the latter, or his friend Cox.

The Rev. James Coigly, like the ill-fated "Father Sheehy," had the misfortune to have his lot cast in a country, and in times, where and when to sympathize with human sufferings, to resist injustice, and to stand between the oppressor and the oppressed, was to be accounted a turbulent person, an officious meddler with the high and mighty privileges of the "*shoneen*" majesty of the magisterial bench, and to be marked out for a man whose movements were to be watched, and whose slightest imprudence, on any fitting occasion, was to be made to realize every grave suspicion that had been entertained, or pretended to have been entertained of his loyalty.

Coigly was a man of an ardent temperament, a hater of intolerance, a fearless advocate of justice, not always, however, a discreet one. He had felt the influence of the fierce persecuting-spirit, which drove the youth of Ireland, destined for the church, to foreign countries, for the completion of their clerical studies; he had witnessed its unrestricted sway at home, in the savagery of the Orange exterminators in Armagh; under the especial protection of the magistracy of that county, he had seen it secretly connived at, openly tolerated, and virtually countenanced by the Irish administration, and sanctioned by the British government, because permitted to be thus connived at, tolerated, and countenanced by its authorities in Ireland. Such a spirit could not be otherwise than hateful to the members of his religion; such a magistracy could inspire them with no feelings of respect; such an administration could not fail to be regarded but as one whose policy was based on the principle, that the greatest possible mischief to the greatest number of the people, was the supreme law; and, finally, such a government could only be looked upon by them, as one that had broken its compact with the people, inasmuch as it had acted contrary to its trust, "had (to use the words of Locke) set up one part, or

party, with a distinction from, and an unequal subjection to the rest," and "left the people persuaded in their consciences, that their laws, and with them their estates, liberties, and lives, were in danger, and their religion, too."

On every principle that Locke has laid down in his Essay on Civil Government, for the establishment of that which is good, and the removal of that which is evil in it, the conduct of Coigly might be defended. But on those principles which guide and govern the opinions and conduct of the authorities of that church, of which the subject of this memoir was a minister, it would be worse than folly, it would be treason to its doctrines to attempt to reconcile with its obligations, and the peaceful character of all its precepts, the political career in which a minister of that church had embarked; the use that he made of the sacred obligations of an oath, the administration of it to members of his communion, his connection with a society, the objects of which could not be obtained except by shedding of blood; the apparent preparation for strife and deadly conflict, that might be inferred from the circumstance of the dagger found on his person when arrested; the forgetfulness of the sacred character of his mission, manifested in providing himself with the disguise of a military officer, and exchanging the title of his priestly functions, for that of a member of a profession, for the uniform of which he was ready to relinquish the cassock and the stole.

Laymen, who are supposed to be more familiar with the opinions of Sydney, Hampden, Locke, Bollingbroke, Fox, Erskine, and other modern authorities, on the subject of the reciprocal obligations of prince and people, may act under the dominion of other impulses than those which are presumed to influence more immediately the conduct of the ministers of religion. Their mission and their functions are too high and too holy to be profaned by contact with the unbridled passions of men, let loose on one another in civil war. "The song which the angels sung at the Nativity of

their Master, was not the glories of war, but a hymn of peace," says Erasmus—"Glory be to God in the highest; on earth peace and good-will towards men. The Royal Poet and Prophet foretold, before his birth,—*factus est in pace locus ejus*, and the prophecy was fulfilled in Salem, for in the City of Peace he made his dwelling place."\*

They must drop the name of ministers of His, and relinquish the banner of the Cross, before they can engage in warfare, unless, indeed, they would imitate the example of the ministers of another religion, who are continually crying out "the church is in danger," and urging the state to go to war, to defend its interests, "as if the people at large," to use the words of a true Christian philosopher, "were not the Prince's church, but as if the whole dignity and value of that church consisted in the revenues of the priesthood."

What is there in the example of the men, whose "*bellum domini*" is Mammon warfare, to recommend the sword to the ministry of any other Christian church. We are told by Grotius there was a canon long observed in the Greek church, which ordained that any man who slew another, in any kind of war, "*qualecumque bello*," should be held in a state of excommunication for three years. The Pagan Greeks and Romans thought that the service of religion should not be performed by men whose hands had been recently imbued with blood. "It is by no means fit for a man stained with gore to pray to the God of heaven."†

Virgil makes his hero call on his father to officiate in the sacred rites, on account of his own unfitness to approach the altar, coming, as he did, reeking from recent slaughter—

"Me bello e tanto egressum et cæde recente  
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo  
Abluero."‡

\* Erasmus's Plea of Reason and Religion against War.

† Eurip. Iphig. in Taures vero, 3rd vol.

‡ Virg. Eneid, ii. 717.

While, fully anxious to do justice to all that was generous and noble in Quigley's character, as evinced in his conduct towards his friends, for whose preservation he was content to sacrifice his life, it cannot be forgotten that it is more incumbent on the ministers of religion, than on all other men, to abstain—"a cæde et sanguine suorum."

MEMOIR  
OF  
JOHN TENNENT.

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“He was a brave man, and died with honour.”—IERNE.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN TENNENT\* was born at Roseyards, near Der-voek, in the county of Antrim, on the 11th of October, 1772. His father, the Rev. John Tennent, was born in Edinburghshire, in May, 1727; he settled in Ireland in 1749, and died at Roseyards in 1808, in his eighty-second year. His mother's maiden name was Paton, whose family were long settled at Myroe, in the county Derry; she died at Roseyards, in 1805, in her sixty-ninth year.

John Tennent's father was a man of considerable classical and theological attainments; but was chiefly remarkable for the singular purity and simplicity of his character, evinced during an assiduous and uninterrupted devotion to the service of the same poor Presbyterian congregation, for a period of no less than fifty-seven years. During that long time he was never prevented from preaching, by sickness or other-

\* I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Robert James Tennent for the materials for this memoir.

wise, for a single Sabbath; nor did he ever know, in any degree, what bodily ailment was, till a few days before his death. Mrs. Tennent was a woman of strong affections, combined with very considerable energy and acuteness. They were both interred in the burial-ground attached to the Meeting-house of Roseyards, where a simple monument was raised by the congregation, to mark the resting-place of their pastor of more than half a century.

John Tennent's education was almost entirely received at home from his father. He had four brothers, and three sisters, who reached maturity. He was trained for a mercantile life for a short time in Coleraine, and afterwards in Belfast. The religious belief inculcated upon him, from infancy, was that of a Presbyterian of the *strictest principles*, and down to the latest period, his letters breathe a strong religious feeling. His early political principles were those of a man who prized the blessings of civil and religious liberty; his original views were those of a moderate reformer: he was not lightly moved, nor easily shaken in his purpose once his resolution was taken. He was intimately acquainted with Tone, Teeling, Lowry, Lawless, and M'Cormick. Though he warmly concurred in the objects of the United Irish Society, while they met openly for legal and constitutional purposes, yet it was some time before he was brought up to approve, and longer still before he consented to join their secret and avowedly revolutionary organization; the advice and influence of his brother William is said to have prolonged his hesitation. He attributed his connection with the Secret Society of United Irishmen, to the indignation which he felt at the sight of a brutal military outrage in the streets of Belfast, in 1793: that outrage finally determined him to join the society. He had actually armed himself, on the occasion referred to, with the intention of rescuing the victims, whom a party of the 17th Dragoons were dragging through the streets, several of them maimed and gashed by their wanton assailants, and was only

withheld by main force, by his brother William, and others, from an interference, which, during that reign of terror, would have sealed his fate on the scaffold. He was no public speaker, nor had he any prominent rank as a leader of the United Irishmen, indeed his own private mercantile affairs left him no leisure for either, though he was trusted and consulted by his associates. He was, however, among the most forward in urging upon the executive the necessity of immediate action in 1797, which it is now apparent, would have been for their purposes, the right decision at the right time.

His objects became the same with those of the association, namely, separation from England, and the establishment of an Irish Republic. That his motives were pure and honourable, springing mainly from conviction, and from a feeling of patriotism and public duty, however mistaken, there is not the shadow of a doubt. Every probable consideration of personal interest was hostile to the course he took. He was attached to his family, independent in his circumstances, and his business, if uninterrupted, promised him a career of continued prosperity.

The following passage, in an account of his early career, given me by a member of his family, may refer to some matter which has not been communicated.

“ It will not detract from his claim to the credit of upright principle, if we admit that his hatred of oppression may have been in some degree enhanced by a personal experience of its workings. It is at all events the fact that a portion of suffering sufficiently severe, from the timid and cruel despotism that then overspread the land, fell to his own lot.

“ He was devotedly attached to a young lady of great beauty and attractions, the sister of Henry Haslitt, of Newtownlimavaddy, in the County of Londonderry, a merchant of Belfast. Her brother was involved in one of the promiscuous sweeps of the terroism of the day, in September, 1796, and consigned to a dungeon in Dublin. The sister procured



permission to attend his only son, a fine boy, whom the father had been allowed to have with him in prison, during an illness which the boy contracted there, but she soon fell a victim to the malignant disease called jail fever, in the earliest bloom of womanhood. She died the 13th of December, 1796.

“The worthy Charles Teeling, who was a fellow prisoner of Haslitt’s, speaks in the following terms of the mournful event :—‘She had been endeared to us all, not less by the sweetness of her disposition, than the fascinating powers of a cultivated mind. Her brother’s happiness was the object of her most anxious concern, but the benevolent feelings of her heart extended to every soul in distress. It was impossible to prevent her access to the prison, for from the surly turnkey, to the cold and impenetrable man of office, her voice acted as a talisman on the most obdurate heart.’\* The remains of this amiable girl were conveyed to the North, attended by crowds of people, who from every town and hamlet, on the road from Dublin, followed the mournful procession for miles ; only returning when the funeral was joined by the inhabitants of other places, thus forming a continued cortege for nearly a hundred miles. Her father’s friend, the Rev. William Steele Dixon, pronounced an eloquent oration, over her remains, at the place of interment.

“There is no doubt that Tennent was both cognizant of, and a participator in the counsels of the executive of the United Irishmen of the North. His brother, William Tennent, who denied ever having been a member of the Secret Association, attributed his own arrest, and all his consequent losses and sufferings, to the circumstance of John Tennent having been in the chair at a very important meeting of the Northern leaders, where the question of insurrection was discussed. An informer denounced ‘Mr. Tennent,’ but failed to identify *William* as the person

\* Teeling’s Personal Narrative, p. 83

whom he had seen, when desired to select him from among a number of others in a room. This circumstance saved William Tennent's *life*; but the vague denunciation, though thus clearly disproved, was sufficient to doom him to a tedious imprisonment of years, during which he repeatedly, but in vain, demanded to be brought to trial, and which, by separating him from his complex and multifarious affairs, caused him great pecuniary loss, accompanied with much injury to health, and severe family affliction.

"John Tennent was at the time out of the country; his letters from Hamburgh breathe the most anxious desire to be enabled to return to his native land; but at last finding the prospect hopeless, he went to France about 1802, and entered the Irish Legion.

"No satisfactory account of his proceedings, in the interval, can be given from his correspondence, for his letters, which were continued under the same assumed name, refer to his associates by conventional initials only, and describe most other matters under a continued veil of commercial metaphor.

"He left Ireland in May, 1797, and proceeded to London, where he remained for some time, assuming the name of Thomas Howard. In the summer of 1797, he proceeded to Hamburgh, accompanied by a member of the Ulster Executive, and Bartholomew Teeling.

"His love of country did not abate in its enthusiasm in exile, it became on the contrary more intense than ever. Tone in his diary of the 5th of August, 1797, mentions the arrival, at the Texel, of Alexander Lowry, of the Ulster Executive, and John Tennent of Belfast. 'Lowry, Tennent, and Bartholomew Teeling, came together to Hamburgh, where they arrived about a fortnight ago.' Tone adds that Teeling had returned to England, but Lowry and Tennent had gone on to the Hague. 'By what they tell me,' he continues, 'there seems to have been a great want of spirit in the leaders in Dublin. I suspected it very much from Lewine's account, though I saw he put

the best side out; but now I am sure of it.'.....  
 'It is hard to judge at this distance, but it seems to me to have been an unpardonable weakness, if not down right cowardice to let such an occasion slip. With eight hundred men of the garrison, and the barracks to begin with, in an hour they would have had the whole capital, and by seizing the persons of half a dozen individuals, paralyzed the whole government, and in my opinion accomplished the whole revolution by a single proclamation. But, as I said already, it is hard to judge at a distance. *Keogh*, (John Keogh, of Mount Jerome,) is not fit for a coup de main, he has got latterly, as Lewines tells me, M'Cormick, (Richard M'Cormick, Secretary of the Catholics,) into his hands, and, besides, Dick is now past the age of adventure. I am surprised that Emmet did not show more energy, because *I know he is as brave as Cæsar* of his person. It seems to me to have been such an occasion missed, as we can hardly expect to return. Lowry and Tennent say there are at least eighty thousand men in Ireland of British troops, including the militia and yeomanry corps, who together may make 35,000.....I suppose there may be fifty, or, perhaps, 55,000 of all kinds, and it is not that force, composed, as I know it is, that would make me despair of success, &c.\* Mr. Moore, in his life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, fully explains the nature of the difference of opinion which occurred between the Leinster and Ulster Executive, which was the chief cause of the failure of the plans of the United Irishmen, that we find glanced at in Tone's diary. Mr. Moore states, that the Dublin leaders, with the exception of Lord Edward, were averse from any attempt without French assistance, and that the Ulster delegates were in favour of an immediate effort. A plan had been drawn up by some officers, who had been in the Austrian service, and 'what was of more importance, a deputation of

\* Tone's Life, Vol. II. p. 429, American Edition.

serjeants from the Clare, Kilkenny, and Kildare Militias, waited upon the Provincial Committee of Dublin, with an offer to seize, in the name of the Union, on the Royal Barrack, and the Castle, without requiring the aid or presence of a single citizen. This proposal was immediately laid before the Executive, and Lord Edward most strenuously urged, as might be expected, their acceptance of it. But after a long and arduous discussion, their decision was to decline the offer, as involving a risk which the present state of their preparations would not justify them they thought in encountering. The whole design was, therefore, abandoned, and its chief instigators, Messrs. Lowry, Teeling, and Tennent, the first a member of the Executive Committee of Ulster, were forced to fly to Hamburgh.\*

“Tone said that Tennent and Lowry were examined by General Dandels, about the state of the public mind in Scotland, and they had stated that emissaries had been sent from the North of Ireland to that country, to propagatè the system of the United Irishmen, and they had succeeded to some extent in Glasgow and Paisley. Tone, Tennent, and Lowry, were to accompany the expedition from the Texel, and they agreed, that once landed on the shores of Ireland, they should consider themselves as men who had burned their ships, who had no retreat, and must conquer or die. After which determination ‘they returned to the inn where they supped, and after divers loyal and constitutional toasts, retired to bed at a very late hour.’ On the failure of the expedition, Tone, Lowry, and Tennent, proceeded to Paris, after having visited General Hoche. We find no further mention in the diary made of Tennent, except of his accompanying Tone and Lowry, on the evening of the 23rd of December, 1797, on a visit to Bonaparte by appointment. I have not been able to discover the reason of Tennent’s taking no part in the sub-

\* Moore’s Life and Death of Lord Edward, Vol. II. p. 4.

sequent expeditions from Rochelle and Brest. He entered the French army in the grade of sub-lieutenant in the Irish Legion; went through the campaigns in Spain, Holland, and Germany. He distinguished himself in several engagements; rose to the rank of Chef de Batallion; and was killed by a cannon ball, at the battle of Lowemberg, the 19th of August, 1813, in the forty first year of his age. In the engagements in which he lost his life, the Legion suffered severely, from having been put forward, almost unassisted, to defend a defile against the whole force of the enemy, while the main body was retreating for the purpose of concentration. When he was struck in the body by a cannon ball, and his instantaneous death took place, as his nephew was informed under the eyes of the Emperor, the latter exclaimed 'Voila une belle mort!' Lawless very shortly afterwards, in the same engagement, lost his leg by a cannon ball. The Emperor observed him carried off the field, and directed his promotion on the spot to the rank of General. The Irish corps suffered severely about this time, having been frequently selected for dangerous and almost hopeless service, in order to facilitate and protect the rapid manœuvres of the French army.

Tennent's death is noticed in an interesting account of some of the officers of the Irish Legion, in the service of France, which appeared in the *Newry Examiner*, of July, 1834:—

“The glorious remnant of the Irish Legion, composed of some of the bravest of our countrymen, who, perhaps, ever appeared, is fast attenuating. In a few years more not a trace will remain. The subjoined extract of a letter from Paris, dated the 30th of June, 1834, announced the demise of two of these heroic men.

“‘Death—which they had braved in all its ranks in a hundred battles, is fast removing all that remained of the Irish warriors, who, for centuries, contributed to the glory of the French army. To renew or replace them has been rendered by law, and by treaty,

impossible, and I am glad of it ; for although 600,000 Irishmen have fought, bled, and died for France, a sentiment of gratitude for their services and their sacrifices, not only does not live in the breast of a single Frenchman, but the remembrance of any one of the thousands of their heroic achievements, while fighting under the banners of France, cannot be found in any page of the modern history of that country. Does any record of them exist in their own country, for the love of which, also, they perished in exile ?

“ ‘ On the fourth instant, died, at Pierre Chatel, Captain Joseph Perrott, commandant of that place. Captain Perrott was a native of the County of Kildare, he entered the French army as Sub-Lieutenant, in the Irish Legion, in the year 1804, and fought in all its campaigns in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. He was severely wounded at the dreadful fight of Goldberg, on the 19th of August, 1813, at the moment when the lamented Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment, (Tennent of Belfast,) and young Hampden Evans, the brother of the present M.P. for the County of Dublin, were mortally struck.

“ ‘ On Wednesday, the 18th instant, died here, at Paris, St. Leger, *Chef de Batallion en retraite*. Colonel St. Leger was the son of a distinguished physician, a native of Waterford. He served with eclat in the Irish Legion in Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Germany in general, but particularly distinguished himself in Silesia. He was present at Goldberg, at Lutzen, where Perrott's cousin, the brave Colonel Ware, immortalized himself, and proved, in the presence and to the satisfaction of the Emperor, that Irishmen had not degenerated. He fought also, in the same year, at Lutzen, at the passage of the *Boor*, and in the subsequent campaign of Germany and France. His brother, who had equally fought in all those fields of battle, died about two years since in Algiers, when on the point of being promoted to the rank of *Chef de Batallion*.’ ”

John Tennent, shortly after his arrival in France,

married a French lady, by whom he had a daughter, who was left well provided for, under the guardianship of Richard M'Cormick. M'Cormick was Secretary to the General Committee of the Roman Catholics, a member of the Leinster Executive, who fled from Ireland the 20th of February, 1798. He was permitted to return to Ireland, where his extensive business of the manufacture of Poplins, at No. 9, Mark's-alley, Dublin, had been carried on, during his absence, by his sister. He was accompanied to Ireland by his ward, the daughter of his friend Tennent, who married, in 1821, a Mr. Patrick Murray, a merchant. His acquirements could not be called extensive; his classical education was scarcely more than elementary, nor was the deficiency repaired in after-life; but, in modern literature, French and English, he read much, and with a taste for moral and political investigations in particular.

“His person,” says Mr. R. J. T., “was muscular, and well built, rather above the middle size; in his manners he was somewhat reserved; his private character was unblemished. His friends in Ireland cherished his remembrance with the warmest affection; and I have heard him spoken of in the highest terms by those who knew him abroad. Though of a social temper, I have reason to believe that his habits were untainted with excess. He was by no means embarrassed in his circumstances, having realized a competency in Ireland; neither was he prodigal in his expenditure. Of his truth and honour, no doubt was ever entertained, either at home or abroad. His judgment was good; his principles were upright: his feelings ardent; his temper was naturally impetuous. As to his courage—it was displayed in many fields of battle, not less signally, than that in which he fell.

“Robert Tennent, the second son of the Rev. John Tennent, was born on the 9th of August, 1765. He was educated for the Medical profession, and, having finished his studies, went out to the West Indies, in 1784. His object in going out, was to follow his pro-

fession. Circumstances, however, occurred, which induced him to leave off practice, and to employ himself as agent for several properties, and in this capacity he remained in Jamaica for some years. At last, in June, 1793, he entered the navy, as surgeon, on board the *Europe*, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain George Gregory. He continued in the navy, visiting the West Indies, the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, &c. till the 27th January, 1799, when he left the *Chichester*, fifty guns, Captain Fancourt, and, finally, renounced the sea. He had been active and useful in suppressing the mutiny at the Cape, in October. 1797, and in recommending the course of moderation and clemency adopted by the authorities.

“ On his return to his native country, he found his elder brother, William,\* imprisoned in Fort George. It was chiefly owing to the exertions of Dr. Tennent, that the liberation of his brother was effected in 1802. He was a man of liberal opinions in politics; but his political principles were those of a Christian patriot, whose strongest convictions, and deepest impressions, were those of a religious character. His amiable and inoffensive qualities did not protect him from the insolence and malignity of a clerical firebrand, the Rev. Edward May, who, in virtue of his connection with one of the Northern nobility, endeavoured to protract the reign of terror beyond the ordinary term of its privileged violence and illegality.

“ In June, 1802, he married a young lady of the name of Crone; and in the May following, he became a father; but, at the same time, a widower. The loss of his wife made a deep impression on him; he felt it most acutely, not only at the time, but as long as he lived.

“ During the last thirty years of his life, his daily employment was to attend to the interests of the pub-

\* William Tennent was born in 1760.



lic institutions of Belfast, in almost the whole of which he took a warm interest.

“ His father was a Seceding minister of the class, then known by the name of Antiburghers; he continued attached to the same communion, and when the bulk of that body, in 1811, accepted an increase of their *Regium Donum*, on conditions, which they themselves, in full synod, had twice declared to be inconsistent with their principles, he adhered to the small, and almost despairing minority. He took a leading part in the opposition among the laity to the acceptance of the terms of government, and was one of a deputation sent to the Synod in Scotland, with a protest against the conduct of the provincial Synod in Ireland.

“ In expressing his opinions on this subject, he said, ‘ When we reflect, that no tax is imposed for the support of ministers, or the building of churches, and that consequently all those establishments are the result of voluntary contributions of the people, the conviction will certainly be forced on our minds, that the Americans are deeply impressed with the importance of religious instruction, and that, together with their freedom, they prize nothing so high as the sacred truths of Christianity. No more satisfactory evidence is required on this subject than the fact, that they are willing to pay for it—which is certainly a singular coincidence when contrasted with the political position of other countries. If there was an established religion of state, I doubt whether half the money could be raised.’ ”

That subjection of the church to the state, which the condition of the *Regium Donum* implied, he regarded as unscriptural and sinful. He was a man of the most sincere piety, and shewed the influence of it practicably in the benevolence of his conduct throughout his life.

He died the 19th of January, 1837, in Belfast, deeply lamented by all classes of his townsmen, and with most reason by the poor, to whom he was a kind hearted and a liberal benefactor. He left an only

son, Mr. Robert James Tennent, a gentleman whose tastes are for the retirement of private life, the enjoyment of literary ease, and the luxury of leisure bestowed on books, or shared with bookish men ; thus limiting his ambition, and devoting to their society talents of the highest order, which, if applied to any profession as a pursuit, could not fail to secure his advancement and distinction.

MEMOIR  
OF  
HUGH WILSON.

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“ Tu modo promissis maneas, Servata que serves  
Troja fidem.” *Virg.—Æn. 7.*

THE following account of the career of one of the United Irishmen, who, without the notoriety of leadership, had that kind of influence with those who were leaders, which honesty, and unpretending zeal, *sometimes* gain for an upright, true, and modest man, in a great public cause or contest, was drawn up, at my request, by the eldest son of Mr. Wilson, a gentleman of the legal profession, residing in New York, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make at the house of one of his father's friends, now in the grave, but “all alive” in the memory of millions of his countrymen, and in mine; it well may be the remembrance of him should live, for I was honoured with his friendship; and I never knew that man whose friendship it was so great an honour to be proud of. I lay before my readers, without alteration of matter, but with some trifling omissions, the plain unaffected narrative of the Life of Hugh Wilson, for which I am indebted to his son, and the public, for some further details, which throw a little more additional light on the character of that calamitous man—Lord Castlereagh.

“ Hugh Wilson was born of respectable parents, in the town of Belfast, in the north of Ireland, the 10th of July, 1772.

“ At an early age, he was placed at a classical school, and was destined, by his father, for the medical profession. He relinquished, however, the idea of studying medicine, for employment in a mercantile house, in Dublin. Eventually, he obtained a situation, as a clerk, in the National Bank of Ireland, and in the year 1797, entered the banking-house of Messrs. Finlay and Co.

“ It was at this period that he first became engaged in political affairs. The state of the country did not seem to him to admit of neutrality, at least in opinion. His close intimacy with many of the leading members of the popular party, and his refusal to join a yeomanry corps, which had been recently formed, made him an object of suspicion to the government. About the end of the year 1797, he quitted Dublin, and became cashier at the bank of Messrs. Thomas Roberts and Co., of Cork, from which situation, he derived a handsome income.

“ During his residence in Cork, he corresponded with many of his intimate friends in Dublin, and among them, with Mr. Oliver Bond. At the time of this gentleman's arrest in 1798, there was found in his possession, a letter from Wilson, containing a quotation from Scripture, which was construed by the government, as indicative of some criminal design. Bond, immediately after his arrest, fearing lest Wilson might be apprehended, on account of this letter, sent a special messenger to him, and informed him of the facts. He consequently had sufficient time to have escaped had he deemed it advisable; but being unaware, at the time, that the government had any other grounds upon which to arrest him, than the contents of his letter to Bond, he resolved to abide the issue. This, however, he might have anticipated. An order for his arrest was sent down to Cork. He was informed, that he was arrested on a warrant from the Privy Council, and must submit to a prison-house for the night, and, on the following day, depart under an escort for Dublin. All the friendly exertions of his

intimate friends on his behalf, were of no avail. He was confined during the night, and early the next morning, together with a Mr. Kelleher,\* who had also been arrested, was taken to Dublin, under the escort of a guard of dragoons.

“ On his arrival at Dublin, he was examined before the Privy Council. One of the members of that body, Sir John Parnell, forgetful of good breeding and good manners, behaved to him in a most insolent and unbecoming manner. The end, however, that was desired, not being attained, or seemingly likely to be attained by operating upon the fears of the prisoner, another member of the council requested Sir John, to leave the sequel of the examination to him.

“ He approached Wilson in a bland and courteous manner, and recognised him as an old acquaintance, and introduced himself as Lord Castlereagh. He alluded to their former acquaintance, when boys, in kind terms, asked many questions about an elder brother of his, with whom he had been intimate; and observing, that his late journey from Cork must have been fatiguing, said, he would delay the examination until the following day. The specious manner and exhibition of disinterested kindness of the noble lord, however, had no effect on Wilson, but to determine him to act with the more caution.

“ On the day following, he was again taken before the Privy Council, and subjected to a rigid examination. The manner of procedure, however, was altered. Lord Castlereagh alone conducted the examination.

“ The noble lord's knowledge of matters relating to the prisoner, seemed unbounded; but the source whence this knowledge was derived, was carefully concealed. Question after question was proposed with consummate skill, and every expedient resorted to, to

\* This gentleman I had recently the pleasure of meeting with in Paris. He is employed in Madame Callaghan's banking house, in that city.

induce Wilson to acknowledge a particular intimacy with some of the United Irishmen then lately arrested, as well as with others whom the government had not yet in their power, but whom they were desirous to arrest and convict.

“ The establishment of this intimacy appeared to be the principal object of Lord Castlereagh, especially with regard to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The more Wilson denied any intimacy with the latter, other than that which had arisen from meeting him at the houses of mutual friends, the more pertinacious was the Privy Councillor in endeavouring to obtain answers agreeable to his wishes. He assured Wilson, that confinement, and more serious consequences, would be the reward of his obstinacy in refusing to give such information as it was known he could do; for the government was already in possession of every requisite evidence. But he remained firm, and acted with a confidence that baffled further inquiry.

“ ‘ Very fortunately, during all these painful examinations,’ (to use his own words), ‘ he was not aware, that the once highly respectable, but afterwards equally infamous, Thomas Reynolds, had been the informer, on whose testimony all the arrests of consequence had taken place.’ Had he been so informed, although he would have been equally incapable of betraying his associates, yet he could scarcely have acted with the confidence he did.

“ To the Castle guard, and the care of its serjeant, Wilson was finally committed, after an admonitory lecture from his noble examiner, who, to the last moment, professed a wish to serve him. By his conductors, he was taken to a small loft, in a lodge, occupied by the porter of the Ordnance-yard of the Castle. The loft was very small, and so low, that a man could only stand erect in the centre of it. It had but one small window, and that which looked into the Ordnance-yard, was strongly secured by iron bars. In this loft, badly ventilated and uncomfortable, Wilson was confined, during the intensely hot summer of 1798.

“ He was denied pen, ink, and paper, and, indeed, books and papers of every description; but his aliment was substantial and good.

“ This state of things did not last long. His situation became more painful and unpleasant, and so continued, until an officer of the guard, an old acquaintance, whom he had not seen for years, recognised him, and relieved him. Unfortunately even this relief, owing to the removal of his friend, was temporary. The government were not possessed of testimony sufficient to convict him, otherwise he would have been brought to trial; but in order to procure such testimony, they, or their despicable underlings, committed an act of barbarity, disgraceful to humanity.

“ A labourer on the estate of a gentleman, in the vicinity of Dublin, with whom Wilson had been intimate, had been arrested, and while under examination, had stated that he knew Wilson, and regretted that he was in custody. This man, whose name was Flood, the authorities endeavoured to induce to give such testimony against Wilson, as was dictated by them; and upon his refusal to do so, they unmercifully whipped him, and put upon his head a pitch cap. When the unfortunate man partly recovered from the flogging, he was brought one morning from the guard-house to the Ordnance-yard, directly under the window of the loft or room in which Wilson was confined, and then, by means of a large crane ordinarily used for raising cannon to their carriages, he was drawn up and let down, until his tongue was literally forced out of his mouth, with the view of extorting, under such torture, an admission of his knowledge of Wilson's guilt; but, notwithstanding his great sufferings, he made no confession, and when life was almost extinct, was carried back to the guard-room.

“ Wilson was continually subjected, during the latter part of his confinement in Dublin Castle, to insult and maltreatment. On one occasion he nearly lost his life, from an attack made upon him by a serjeant of the guard. This person being informed, that his prisoner

was prohibited the use of pen, ink, and paper, and knife, finding that Wilson had a penknife in his possession, peremptorily ordered him to give it up; and upon refusal, drew his sword and struck at him. The blow was fortunately intercepted by the rafters, which were low; and before it could be repeated, the porter of the Castle, and the sentinel, came to the rescue.

“During the latter part of his confinement in Dublin Castle, he received a visit from the Earl of Carhampton, who came for the purpose of obtaining from him, in a clandestine manner, information relative to the person or persons from whom he had purchased arms, with which, sometime before the insurrection, he had supplied some of the United Irishmen. The noble earl, with a view to concealment, was plainly dressed, and bore no evidence whatever of his rank. He erroneously thought he was unknown to Wilson, and under this impression, after the usual ceremonials of politeness, stated, that he had called for an explanation of some points, in relation to which, the Privy Council wished to be informed.

“Wilson, who knew him, addressed him by name, and asked him what those points were? His lordship appeared to be surprised at the recognition; but, nevertheless, after a moment's consideration, asked Wilson, how and where he contrived to get the arms which he had disposed of, as above mentioned? To this question Wilson replied, that the noble earl's information, as to his having obtained the arms, was correct; but that the manner in which he contrived to get them, must rest with him. Still intent upon effecting his end, Carhampton suggested, that he must be well acquainted with the agreement entered into between the Irish state prisoners and the government, that no person should be implicated by any information that he might give. Wilson answered, he was aware of this agreement, and believed by it, they were not bound to compromise any one whatever; that he would not, therefore, inform his lordship from whom he obtained the arms; but that as he knew his lordship



had come from Thomas Reynolds, he would beg him to give that individual a message, which was simply, to pay for the arms he (Reynolds) had obtained at his (Wilson's) recommendation.

“After the state prisoners in Dublin, consented, upon honorable conditions, to give such information as might lead to the discovery of the nature and cause of the insurrection, Wilson was not so much restricted as he had previously been, and was allowed to receive the visits of his friends. He was in a short time removed from the Castle-yard to Bridewell, where he remained some months. He was then notified to prepare himself for America, or for any other country he might prefer, not then at war with Great Britain. He therefore took passage in a vessel for New York; but upon the eve of departure, was informed, that the British government had been officially informed, by Mr. Rufus King, the American minister, at St. James's, that the Irish state prisoners could not be received in America. This was most tantalizing to the prisoners.

“Whilst Wilson was confined in Bridewell, one of the guard, standing near the wicket on the outside of the prison-yard, made an impertinent remark, to which Wilson, forgetting his situation, replied indignantly. The guard deliberately levelled his musket, and fired at Wilson; the ball passed through the wicket-door, touched one of the iron bars that ran across it, and, glancing off, lodged in an opposite door.

“Although a complaint of this outrage was made to the proper authorities, no notice was taken of it, further than by removing the offender from that part of the Bridewell.

“When removed from the immediate reach of the Irish administration, the prisoners were well treated. The conduct of the King's messenger who conducted them from the landing to Fort George, in Scotland, was such, that it was simultaneously proposed amongst them to present him with a token of their regard. He accepted it; and, not fearful of incurring the dis-

pleasure of those he served, by being humane and good, Mr. Sylvester (such was his name) subsequently decorated his sideboard with it. It was a piece of plate, bearing an appropriate inscription, shewing for what service, and by whom it was presented.

“The conduct of Lieutenant-General Stewart, who commanded Fort George, was extremely humane. He rendered the situation of the prisoners as comfortable as his orders would permit, and endeavoured to relieve the irksomeness of their confinement. An occurrence took place, which was the means of making Wilson a favourite of the governor. He had the good fortune, while bathing, to save one of the men of the garrison from drowning, by an act of intrepidity. On the following day Wilson received the thanks of the officers and men for his humane conduct.

“Of his mode of life, &c. at Fort George, drawn up at a subsequent period, he says:—‘The affectionate attachment which subsisted during so many years between him and the ever to be lamented Thomas Addis Emmet, had its commencement within the walls of Fort George; as likewise his friendship with Dr. Macneven, which only ceased with his death.’

“After the peace of 1802, Wilson, with other prisoners, were embarked on board a sloop of war, taken to the River Elbe, and landed at Hamburgh. He was at a loss what course to pursue; and yet, placed as he was, in a strange country, an outcast from his own, limited in means, and ignorant whether his friends in Ireland knew whither he had been sent, it was necessary that he should speedily adopt some course.

“He remained a short time in Hamburgh, and then, in conjunction with Thomas Addis Emmet and a Mr. Sweeney, who had determined to proceed to Paris, hired a small vessel for Amsterdam. During their stay in that place, they were joined by Robert Emmet. From Amsterdam the whole party proceeded to Rotterdam; Thomas Addis Emmet and his family travelling in a carriage. Robert Emmet, Sweeney,

and Wilson, travelling on foot. From Rotterdam they proceeded to Antwerp, and from thence to Brussels. From Brussels they proceeded to Paris; and at this place Wilson, whose destination was Bordeaux, parted from the Emmets and Sweeney.

“The parting caused him great regret: it was from friends, who had become dear to him in adversity, and whom he felt he might never see again. On investigating his purse, he found that it was inadequate to any undertaking, not guided by the strictest economy. At Bordeaux he expected to replenish it. He, therefore, walked it from Paris to Bordeaux. Arrived at this place, he obtained employment in the respectable mercantile house of M'Carthy Freres, in whose employ he remained for near three years.

“All hope of honourable assistance from France, favourable to Ireland, having been extinguished in the breasts of the most sanguine, almost all the Irish patriots, who had the means of leaving France, then abandoned it.

“Wilson left Bordeaux, and sailed for America, and arrived in Charleston, South Carolina; from thence he went to Gaudaloupe and Martinique, and returned to Charleston. At this place he chartered a brig, and sailed for the Spanish port of the Island of St. Domingo; but, by stress of weather, was driven into the port of Havanna, in the Island of Cuba. After repairing his vessel, he returned to Charleston, and thence took passage for Bordeaux, where his presence was required to close some business. He arrived safely at Bordeaux, after having been taken by a British cruizer into Portsmouth, and there searched.

“From Bordeaux he visited Paris, but soon returned; and in a short time sailed from Bordeaux for New York.

“Unknown to Wilson, and without his solicitation or desire, application was made to the British government, by some of his friends in Ireland, for leave to enable him to return to his country. This application

was granted, upon condition that he would 'acknowledge his crime, express his sorrow for it, and return thanks for the act of grace that restored him to his rights as a British subject.' Wilson refused to accede to these terms, or to return to his country at all.

"Many of the Irish, who emigrated to America, and amongst them Thomas Addis Emmet, and William James Macneven, had settled in New York; and on Wilson's arrival at that place, he was warmly welcomed. He did not, however, remain long in New York, but proceeded to New Orleans, where he embarked in business.

"Having realized a considerable sum from mercantile speculations, he left New Orleans, in June, 1809, and arrived in New York, in August following. In May, 1810, he sailed from New York for the Baltic, and, after a short passage, arrived off Zealand. At some distance from the Kohl, his vessel was boarded by a British frigate, and ordered to lay too until the frigate's boat returned, or made a signal for sailing. The boat, however, not returning, and no signal being made, he directed the captain of his brig to make sail for the town of Himbeck, and to anchor under the fort of that place. No sooner did the British frigate perceive this, than she fired several guns, and gave chase ineffectually; the brig reached Himbeck safely. But although she had escaped one danger, she was afterwards taken by a Danish privateer, and sent to Copenhagen. After a long delay, the Courts at length discharged Wilson's vessel, upon payment of a handsome sum to the captors; and, on his release, he made a voyage to Riga.

"From Riga he proceeded to America, and again returned to Copenhagen, and in that city resided until September, 1815, when he married Ann Colbiornsen, a Danish lady of respectable family. In a short time after his marriage, he settled with his wife in St. Croix, one of the Virgin Islands. In the latter island he established himself in mercantile business, which he pursued with great success until the early part of

the year 1824, when through his endeavours to save a sugar plantation, belonging to his wife's mother, he irretrievably involved himself and his affairs.

"He continued to do business in St. Croix, on a limited scale, making occasional voyages to the United States once a year; his last visit was in 1829, and he died the 14th of July, that year, in the city of New Haven, in the state of Connecticut, and was buried there. He survived his wife six years, and left two sons, who are now residing in America; and by the oldest of whom, the preceding notes of his father's life have been put together."

MEMOIR  
OF  
FELIX ROURKE,  
AND  
NOTICES OF SOME OF THE SUBORDINATE LEADERS  
IN THE  
KILDARE AND WICKLOW MOVEMENT;

NAMELY,—OF DUGGAN, WYLDE, MAHON, QUIGLY,  
BURKE, FARREL, DOORLEY, AND GILSHINE, WITH  
EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE  
SPIES AND INFORMERS OF THAT PERIOD, WITH  
THEIR EMPLOYER, MAJOR SIRR.

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“And now we’re to the dungeon brought;  
Our friends came here before;  
And in the cell, or on the sod,  
We’re Paddies evermore.”

*The Harp of Erin*, a selection of the Songs of 1798.

CHAPTER I.

FELIX ROURKE, the son of a small farmer, living about half a mile from Rathcoole, who kept the turnpike gate between that town and Naas, and a carman’s stage at the same place, was born in 1765. He served his time, in Dublin, to a shoemaker, and afterwards was employed as a clerk or overseer in a tan-yard. Pre-

viously to 1798, he returned to his father, and assisted him in the management of his small farm. He became a member of United Irishmen; and so active and useful a member, as to attract the attention of the gentry of that society, and eventually of its foremost leader, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He was a permanent serjeant of the Rathcoole infantry, commanded by Sir Charles Ormsby, one of the free-quarter gentlemen of 1798. He was employed by Lord Edward in the early part of 1798, in organising that part of the country in which he resided, and had gained the confidence of the principal leaders. His brother informed me, that a short time before the rebellion broke out, Lord Edward made him a present of his own favourite mare, and that he was a great favourite with his lordship; and such, I believe, was the fact.

When the delegates were arrested at Bond's, there were several meetings of the Kildare committees, and the subject of their inquiry was, the treason which had evidently got into their societies. At one of these meetings, Tom Reynolds publicly said, the traitor was Felix Rourke. They inquired into the charge, and found it was false. Rourke was honorably acquitted; but he was very near being murdered, so strong was the suspicion which Reynolds' assertion gave rise to. When the inquiry terminated, at which Mahon was present, he said he saw Rourke for the first time distressed,—he burst out crying.

Bernard Mahon states, that Rourke was appointed secretary for the barony of Upper Cross, at the same time that he (Mahon) was made secretary for Newcastle. They were thus appointed to meet the baronial committee at Naas: subsequently they were nominated to a higher office, to act with the county delegates, and eventually with the provincial committee. Rourke was named, by Lord Edward, a colonel of the Kildare United Irishmen.

When the rebellion broke out, he commanded a party, who were appointed to act in concert with the Wexford people. He acted as one of the foremost

leaders at Hacketstown, at Clonard, and Johnstown. After the defeat of the Wicklow and Kildare men, they continued with the remnant of their forces at Blackmore Hill, till they heard of Lord Cornwallis's amnesty. They then presented themselves to Colonel Hunter, and obtained passes to General Dundas, on condition that they would surrender themselves to the latter. In a day or two they did so, and the general was inclined to give them protection; but on the following morning, they were informed, the general could not grant them protection, without the sanction of government; and they were then marched off to Naas jail, where they were kept from the 10th of August, 1798, till the summer of 1800. They often regreted, Mahon states, that they had surrendered on the faith of the promised amnesty. Had they known it would have been broken, they would have taken their chance a little later, with some other of their associates at Ballinamuck.

The character and principles of this young man, the following extracts from his letters, (with the exception of the first and second), written during the period of his confinement in the jail of Naas, and addressed to a young lady of a superior station to his own, whom he appears to have been devotedly attached to, will give a better insight into, than any of mine can do. The original letters were placed in my hands by the same gentleman to whom I am indebted for the narrative of Nicholas Murphy. It is well to know the sentiments and principles of persons in the humble station of this young man, who were looked to by such men as Fitzgerald and Emmet, for the accomplishment of their designs, and for the carrying into effect of their plans. It is well to know what materials they had to work upon, and to do their work, in troubled times.

#### ACCOUNT OF A BATTLE.

*July 27, 1798.*

“MY DEAR MARY—The old proverb, ‘better late than never,’ must plead my excuse. The merit of



story telling is generally allowed me. I will tell a true, though rather a stale story. The rebels who were encamped on Whelp Rock, under the command of Colonels Perry, Ryan, Fitzgerald, Murphy, Aylmer, and Rourke, after a long forced march to the County Kildare, halted near Prosperous; on perceiving a body of troops moving after them they took a strong position near the heights, above the town, a bog in front, only passable by a narrow road, through which an army should march to attack them, they had taken the precaution to place their bullocks baggage, &c., in such a situation on the road that their riflemen could fire with precision from behind them. A heavy column of musqueteers and pikemen, entrenched in the ditches, assumed so formidable an appearance, that his majesty's troops drew off without firing a gun, and left them to prosecute their march unmolested. *As I had fallen into their hands in Kill, (where they took and destroyed a mail coach,) through the mediation of one of their officers I was suffered to march in custody of an intelligent young man, who made no secret in telling me the plan for their future operations, as follows.* The Wexford men, under Ryan as General, with Colonels Perry, Fitzgerald, and Rossiter, and Garret Byrne, with part of the Wicklows, after the battle of Carnew, were obliged to fall back into the mountains, where they formed a junction with the county and city of Dublin rebels under Rattigan and Rourke. The Kildare forces, under Murphy, are here; they encamped, and were joined by Aylmer and his party, when they proceeded, as I before mentioned, with the determination of marching through the different counties in order to raise them. To avoid fighting as much as possible, but harrass small parties. This determination was frustrated in the following manner. After a long fatiguing march, without sleep for two nights, we arrived on Wednesday fortnight, which, I believe, was the 10th (of July, 1798,\*) about ten o'clock, in the

\* See Walker's Hibernian Magazine, August, 1798.—R. B. M.

afternoon, in Clonard; the men, after the night and morning march without refreshment, proceeded to the attack, the county and city of Dublin troops in front, led by Murphy and Rourke, entered the town under a very warm fire of musquetry from the barracks; the pikemen, with considerable loss, and ill advised efforts, attempted to force the barracks, when, by the assistance of a woman, they burned them, and not one soldier escaped the flames; they then proceeded to burn the town, in which they partly succeeded, but fortunately a reinforcement arrived from Kinnegad with two pieces of artillery, and commenced a dreadful fire of grape and round shot on the rebels, who retreated, leaving about ten dead, and as many wounded, whom they carried off. The loss of his majesty's troops was considerable; with loss of the barracks and a principal part of the town. Among the rebels wounded were Colonel Murphy, and Rourke's brother shot through the arm.\* The rebels fought obstinately, and retreated in good order to Carberry, burning several houses on the road, and a bridge, where I was taken a prisoner. The next day, after a march of twenty miles to the county Meath, they were attacked on a hill, where they had encamped, at a time their cavalry were out foraging, and their musqueteers, without a round of ammunition, they retreated, leaving baggage, provisions, &c., behind. A disagreement on the road separated the different county rebels, and prejudiced the cause of liberty; they have since, I understand, taken the oath of allegiance, and got protections which they will break, I dare say, the first opportunity, as many have done, and again take to the mountains. I have pretty well tired you with news—now for more, but don't tell it.—I am still as much yours as ever.

(Signed) " F. R. WILSON.†

" To Miss Finerty, 191, Abbey-st., Dublin."

\* Charles Rourke who was confined subsequently in Naas jail along with Felix.—B.R.M.

† A fictitious name assumed by F. R. Rourke.

## HIS SURRENDER.

*“ Killcullen, Aug. 8, 1798.*

DEAR MARY—After every exertion, on our part, to forward the great object in view, we found ourselves deserted in a hostile country, and from the necessity of concealment by day, to march by night, we traversed the County of Kildare, and, disappointed, returned to Wicklow, where a horde of banditti were assembled, formidable only to the unfortunate people. We separated, and, being left only with three captains, sent a flag of truce to Colonel Hunter, at Rathcoole, and after some letters passing between us, in which he, as a gentleman, and a man of honour, declared he could not give us ‘protection,’ but he sent us a pass to General Dundas, to whom we have been obliged to surrender on the same terms as Aylmer, Weir, &c. A messenger has been dispatched to government to know our future destination. And so here we are in a neat back room, without a sash in the window, elegantly furnished with rotten straw—our bed which strays about the floor till we beat the long roll, when our friends the fleas gather it up; as bed clothes are a luxury we are not troubled with, nor, indeed, is our linen of the most immaculate whiteness—but no more of this. We expect an answer by to-morrow, (Thursday,) when I believe we will be sent under escort to town. And now, my sweet, what say you to a trip beyond the Atlantic. But I have not yet acknowledged the receipt of your kind epistle, for which I return a thousand thanks, and as many wishes, and will now tell you more of my mind,—that I would rather kiss your sweet lips, than his majesty’s hand for a free pardon.....

“ Adieu, my dear girl, may God bless and preserve you for,

“ F. R. WILSON.

“ To Miss Finerty.”

“ P.S.—We are in glorious spirits, thanks to a good God.”

## THOUGHTS ON PROSPECTS OF EXILE.

“*Naas, August 11, 1798.*”

“DEAR MARY—I write from head quarters, Naas jail, where we arrived yesterday, and must wait the determination of government respecting our future operations. I wrote to General Wilford, who commands. He sent me a very polite answer, and instructions to the jailor to treat us with all possible attention. We have a very comfortable room, a good bed, and every convenience. He says, that though government has pardoned the leaders, it is on condition of voluntary transportation. That those who have already received protection are taken into custody, or will be. The Privy Council is to sit on Monday, when we will, I believe, put our troops in motion, in order to march to Dublin, to embark for America, as government think men with such military talents as our captains possess, might be very successfully employed against the native Indians. So you see we are likely to be very great men. But, seriously, I think, from what I know, that were we to remain in this country, our condition would be worse than that of an Egyptian bondage. Our words would be twisted from their real meaning; if a spark of spirit remained to resent an offence, we would be branded as factious men, to whom government should not have extended an act of mercy. The jealous eye of suspicion would still pursue us, and point us out as conquered—but not conciliated. In short, though the welfare of my country would be the first wish of my heart, I have yet too much spirit left, to remain like a disappointed ghost, stalking through a land mourning for that happiness and that rank, it did not share.

“With health improved, spirits unconquerable, and opinions unalterable,

“I am yours,

“Whilst I am

“FELIX ROURKE.

“To Miss Finerty.”

## • PRISON LIFE.

“*Naas, August 17, 1798.*”

..... “ We are perfectly easy in our confinement, as every indulgence we could possibly expect is given us by Mr. Dalton; in fact, from his kind treatment, we almost forget we are in prison. We are our own cooks, drawers of water, &c., and continue to kill time pretty agreeably: always cheerful and regular; sometimes playful, and very often noisy. Could you take a frisk into our *hotel* you would suppose us under the influence of the laughing god, to whom we pay every tribute. I am much at a loss for books and drawing materials, as I have a miniature, in an unfinished state, which I could do here, beside the amusement it would afford me. We know nothing of what passes in your world, as we seldom see a newspaper; we have had a truly deserving man, who has suffered an eighteen-months’ confinement, unrepining. Deprived of the society of all that could render life agreeable—an invaluable wife, and tender offspring, who, but for the humane attention of Mr. and Mrs. Dalton, of whom he speaks in the most grateful terms, would have sunk under the pressure of so great a calamity; he has now expectations of being speedily liberated....

“ With regard to the bail I myself will be one of the sureties, to guarantee the performance of every promise; so you see the bargain is as good as concluded. But, *mon chere*, we must lay in a small stock of Joseph’s philosophy, to be prepared for the buffets which fortune may have in store for us. Assure him, I wish him not to be ‘surface,’ but cannot believe him so invulnerable, as to be proof against the attractions of the sex. Tell the blue-eyed maid to reduce this modern Hylas to a sense of his condition, that he was born to be a slave, and should glory in the title; the chains are silken, and, were he once accustomed to wear them, they would become him very well.....

(Signed) “ F. ROURKE.

“ To Miss Finerty.”

## RESPECTING JAMES NEILSON.

“ *Naas, Aug. 24, 1798.*

“ DEAR MARY—I this day received for answer, from General Dundas, that though we surrendered, ‘and had made a report thereof to the government,’ they did not deign to send a line in answer. He pledges himself, that by this night’s post he will write in such terms, as will induce them to send an answer. As to our application to Mr. Attorney-General, by your mother, I believe it would be of material consequence, but as yet need not be tried, as we have expectations from another quarter, namely, the Rev. Mr. M’Allister, of the county of Meath, whose property and life, with the lives of all his family, we saved at the time that an ungrateful wretch, who had eaten his bread for years, pointed him out for sacrifice, as an Orangeman. Captain Kennedy, who is entirely our friend, suggested, that if Mr. M’Allister were to come forward to bear testimony to our humanity on that occasion, it would be attended with success. We accordingly sent to Mr. M’Allister, who was overjoyed at having an opportunity to serve his deliverers, and is now in town, with intention to apply to a gentleman, high in the present administration; and, in case of failure, declares that he will himself wait on his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in order to procure us liberty. Mr. G. Ponsonby, who, we understand, is high in confidence, is also interested in our favour; with several others of less consequence. As to our friends in the Exchange, assure them, that I entertain the most sincere esteem for them, particularly Messieurs Weir and Andoe, whose acquaintance I am happy in. Your mention of my valued friend, Neilson, I don’t understand,—you seem to insinuate that he is not the noble-minded editor of the *Northern Star*, but the mean despicable informer—the colleague of a Reynolds, or a Newell. Oh! God!—impossible. Then, indeed, is ‘judgment fled to savage beasts, and men have lost their reason.’ Send me

every particular respecting him that you may hear; and believe any thing but that he could be a villain....

(Signed)

“ F. ROURKE.

“ To Miss Finerty.”

OPINION OF FRENCH AID.

“ *Naas, August 30, 1798.*

“ DEAR MARY—Your kind epistle of yesterday was welcome to me, as it came just after a very great disappointment, namely, a promise which was given from Lord Castlereagh, that we should be liberated; which he would have religiously fulfilled, were it not for the enemy landing, and his Excellency going out of town.....

“ As I have not seen any paper I cannot guess what the invader is doing, or what his strength; but I presume they are few, not ‘ come to gain a country or to lose themselves,’ but to inspire the rebels with fresh hopes, and again to disappoint them, *a la Bantry.*

(Signed)

“ F. ROURKE.

“ To Miss Finerty.”

RESPECTING AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE MAJOR SIRR.

“ *Naas, September 11, 1798.*

“ MY DEAR GIRL—You’ll do me the justice to believe, that your letter gave me more real pleasure than words can express: it dissipated my fears for your safety, and assured me I was not forgotten. I am astonished at the hardihood of the assassin who attempted Sirr. Of such attempts every man must express his abhorrence; ’tis a crime so black and monstrous, that no provocation can justify it, making every allowance for a wounded spirit, ripe with wrongs, and panting for revenge. Yet, perhaps, this man felt

himself not aggrieved by Sirr, but conceived he would render the country an important service by despatching him;—mistaken man, thou hast added one more to the catalogue of crimes, without serving any party; if you can learn his name and situation in life, please to send an account thereof.

“You, in a former letter, wished to know if the Attorney-General could do any thing for me, as that your mother had some interest in that quarter; I want not to apply for any favour for myself, but, at the request of Mr. Harold, to state his *innocence*, and the futility of the charge under which he is confined in a military prison, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, and cut off from his friends; he is so conscious of his innocence, that he is quite certain if any man in power knew his situation, with the nature of the charges against him, that he would be liberated.....

“To Miss Finerty.”

#### EXPECTATION OF BEING SENT TO AMERICA.

“*Naas, September, 14, 1798.*”

“We are every day hearing reports of actions taking place between his Majesty’s troops and the invaders; but we believe it only to be rumour, who is ever busy on these occasions. If there be Bulletins published, contrive to send them inclosed; we have already seen one, stating that General Lake was defeated, with the loss of some field pieces. We were told this day that government was determined on immediately sending out of the kingdom all persons concerned in the late rebellion. I will not comment on it, but say with Cæsar, viewing Pharsalia, ‘they will have it so.’ To me, after Ireland, every country is alike; yet America, from her local situation, with the mildness of her laws, and the perfect freedom of the subject, independent of her customs, language, and manners, literally the same as our own, is the most



desirable. However, I am pretty easy on that head, and will meet with firmness any change—except in you.....

(Signed) “ F. R.”

#### DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF LIBERATION.

“ *December 9, 1799.*

“ DEAR WILLIAM—My sister informed me yesterday that she had the pleasure of seeing you in the course of the week. I, therefore, need not repeat her having waited on ———, and likewise on General Dundas. He informed her that he had received a letter from government, acquainting him, that in the course of a few days the petition would be referred entirely to him, not only for his report thereon, but, as he believes, for the purpose of liberating petitioners. If this should be the case, I think I may reckon on the pleasure of seeing you between this and Christmas; but must, at the same time, confess I am not very sanguine in my expectations; frequent disappointments, heretofore, have damped the fervour of hope, and taught me almost to discredit every thing in the shape of state promises, an error which nothing will cure, but the certainty of being turned out (of jail).....

“ To Mr. William Finerty,  
“ 191, Abbey-street, Dublin.”

#### OPINION ON THE UNION.

“ *Naas, Dec. 16, 1799.*

“ DEAR WILLIAM—I received yours of the 13th instant, and delayed answering it till the present, hoping it would be in my power to communicate something of a more pleasing nature. This expectation failing, I was not much disappointed, as I was prepared for it. We are still in suspense, in regard to this important answer: how long we may remain so,

Heaven only knows. The only circumstance on which we ground our hope is, the influence of Dr. P., as the general can do nothing, till it is officially referred to him; which once done, our liberation follows. I have seen Stursday's 'Anti-Union,' and would be gratified highly, if I could procure a sight of the subsequent numbers; not that I think the Union so unpopular as these gentlemen would wish us to believe: on the contrary, I am of opinion, that nine-tenths of the people look to it, as the only measure to protect them from a vile aristocracy, that would reduce the government of the country to a corporation, and create a system of robbing, under the patronage of an ascendancy club.\*

(Signed)

"F. R.

"To Mr. Wm. Finerty."

#### CONCERNING P. FINERTY AND MR. HAROLD.

"Naas, Dec. 17, 1798.

"MY DEAREST COUSIN—You will pardon my not answering yours of the 10th instant, as I was then preparing, by the advice of certain gentlemen, a memorial, which the Rev. Mr. M'Allister has procured Counsellor Dobbs to present in our favour. The peti-

\* It ought always be borne in mind, that the opinions of the men of 1798, on the subject of the Union, are the opinions of men who suffered the greatest possible injuries that it was possible for human beings to suffer, from the acts of the Irish parliaments at that period. Need those acts be enumerated?

1. Libel bill, entitled an act to secure the liberty of the press, authorising its presentation before a grand jury as a public nuisance, —passed March, 1798.

2. Quartering foreign troops' bill, authorising the free-quarter system, —passed May 15, 1798.

3. Banishment bill, in violation of the terms entered into with the state prisoners, —passed July 12, 1800.

Indemnity bill, legalising the acts of the wholesale murderers and torturers of the people, —passed Sept. 5, 1798.

4. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus, —passed in May, 1798.

5. The insurrection bill, —passed Oct. 6, 1798.

6. The fugitive bill, of the same date.

7. The bill to prevent the return of the exiled persons, or their passing into an enemy's country.

tion has failed, in consequence of an objection being made to a certain fact stated in it. However, Mr. Dobbs will, on to-morrow (Tuesday) present the memorial to his Excellency. Should this fail, I am apprehensive that a petition must share the same fate: however, we may try it. When Hilary term commences, I believe we will avail ourselves of the Habeas Corpus..... I am not quite in love with your intended visit to the gallant gentleman you allude to. I am sorry to say, that a report\* is very prevalent, that P. Finerty has given some information to the government, respecting *the Union*. Of this, I believe him incapable; nor would I mention it, but that I am convinced you can divine from whence it proceeds. When I last heard from poor Mr. Harold, he was on board the transport, then under sailing orders; and every effort made by his friends, frustrated by the villany of the captain, who would not suffer any person to come on board, as he understood that a writ of Habeas Corpus was directed to be served on him, in order to bring up the body of Mr. Harold, These circumstances were sworn to by John Rourke, before Judge Chamberlain, and an order issued by him to the captain, to have him given up; yet still, by the connivance or villany of the persons who sent there, 'tis to be feared, that they will send him off.....

“ To Miss Finerty.”

#### DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF LIBERATION.

“ *Naas, Jan. 9, 1799.*

“ .....My affairs have undergone a total change. The memorial presented was well received; and but for the machinations of the villain, O——y, I would now be at liberty; but like the first destroyer, his baneful influence blights all the fair hopes I entertained,—the answer was, that I was a person too

\* No report ever was more unfounded.—B. R. M.

deeply engaged in the business of the 'Union,' and had done too much mischief, ever to meet with any favour from government. The alternative gives me not a moment's pain, but that it divides me from connections dear to me; however, believe me, that in sickness or in health, in good or ill fortune, the recollection of the many hours of unspeakable happiness I have spent in your society, will compensate for many of the evils I am doomed to suffer. With the most affectionate remembrance to father, mother, William, and Mr. Maquey,

"I am, with truth unalterably,

"F. R."

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTENDED MARRIAGE OF  
Miss F——.

"Naas, Feb. 16, 1799.

"DEAR WILLIAM—I did expect to hear of Mary's being married, as she gave me an intimation of it being to take place. I will not offer any common-place compliments on that occasion. She knows that her happiness must be the first wish of my heart. With respect to the children of ——, be assured, my dear William, whatever grief we inflict on our parents, by folly, imprudence, &c., will be doubly repaid us by our children in return, should we live to have a family: and let me take this opportunity of bearing testimony to your universal good conduct, a conduct which must ever be attended with the most pleasing reflection. To Mary say, that I will not suffer her husband to monopolise her entirely; that she must, at least in idea, visit the prisoner, as she has heretofore visited 'the sick at heart.'.....

(Signed)

"F. ROURKE.

"To Mr. W. Finerty."

ON MISS F.'s INTENDED MARRIAGE.

"Prison.

"MY EVER DEAR MARY—Pardon my not answer-

ing your last but one, to me, sooner than I did. Could any thing add to the depression I now feel, and have felt, since I received your last, 'twould be the thought, that you could, for a moment, suppose me capable of treating you with contempt. *You!* to whom, above all others, I owe so much. Believe me, were I so ungrateful, the crime would carry a ten-fold punishment along with it—the deprivation of your esteem and friendship. *You*, to whom I looked, as the haven of all my hopes; for I had hopes, but they, like a full ear of corn, are withered in the ripening. I must now forego all my flattering dreams of happiness in your dear society. But to ask, *have I forgotten you?* my last collected thought must be on *you*. Write to me, for God's sake; and be particular in detailing that affair, which I must dread. Perhaps I've something of the Englishman in November, in my constitution, that makes me unusually gloomy and low-spirited.

“ Yet yours unalterably,

“ F. ROURKE.”

#### FAITH BROKEN WITH REBELS.

“ *Naas, March 1, 1799.*

“ .....You have not mentioned a single word of Mary, no more than if there was no such person in existence. Since she did not, agreeable to that promise in your former favour, write, I will expect from you, every particular minutely detailed, as every thing concerning her is of importance to me—her name, (for I can only guess it), place of residence, with every &c. The spring assizes are, I understand, struck out, but have not seen the calendar; you will, therefore, oblige me, by informing me what period is appointed for the assizes of this town. You can further inform me, if M—— be at liberty. Aylmer has been liberated, and is now in England; yet we have received no answer to our application, although our surrender was expressly the same as his. I have no hesitation in saying, that the nation's faith has been

broken with us ; nor can I account for such a breach, unless they have adopted the good old principle—that no faith is to be kept with political heretics—traitors.

“ To Mr. Wm. Finerty.”

BROKEN FAITH WITH ABSENT LOVERS.

“ *Naas, March 14, 1799.*

“ In answer to yours of the 11th instant, which I did not receive till this day. I sincerely congratulate you on your change of name, &c. &c., which will, I hope, be attended with every happiness which this world is capable of affording. I am in tolerable health ; but must confess my spirits are at the lowest ebb, for which I can only account, by the manner I am tantalized with promises of liberation, which, I believe, I will never see realized. You will pardon the brevity of this wretched scrawl, as I am fearful of infecting you with my dulness, *and at such a time as this, too!* In a post or two, I will, I hope, be able to write something more acceptable.

“ I, am with best wishes to Mr. Maquay,

“ Yours,

“ To Mrs. Maquay,\*  
55, Smithfield, Dublin.”

“ F. ROURKE.

SUSPICIONS OF PETER FINERTY'S FIDELITY.

“ *Naas, Sept. 2, 1799.*

“ I anticipate with you, the increase of happiness which our dear Mary's present situation promises, and sincerely wish, that her happiness, with that of your dearest mother, may be as lasting as their lives.

“ Your friend, Mr. Murphy, must pardon my want of recollection, that I do not immediately call to mind when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance, but shall esteem myself peculiarly flattered by your mentioning in your next, any circumstance which may remind

\* The late Miss Mary Finerty.—R. R. M.

me of a friend, who thus honors me by his remembrance.....

*"I have heard frequent charges, of the same nature with your's, preferred against Peter F——, which I treated as the fabrication of his enemies; but confirmed by you, I entertain not the slightest doubt of their authority....."*

(Signed)

"F. R.

"To Mr. Wm. Finerty,  
191, Abbey-street."

#### A YEOMANRY EXPLOIT.

*"Naas, Sept. 9, 1799.*

*"WELL, MY JEWEL—To answer yours methodically; I was in bed, quietly dreaming of being restored to liberty, and enjoying the pleasure of walking straight before me, when our boatswain's, alias turnkey's, hoarse pipes called to inform me, of the arrival of a letter, whose agreeable intelligence, in some measure compensated for the disappointment I experienced, in finding myself 'in durance vile,' and an end to my flattering dream. Need I say, it was yours of the 5th instant, than which, next to the realization of the above dream, nothing could give me greater pleasure, except an opportunity of telling you so in person.*

*"The monody you have mentioned, to the memory of the martyr, Edward, would be a delicious treat; and I request you will oblige me with it.....Last night there was the greatest effusions of loyalty in this town,—the windows in a blaze of illuminations, for victory in Holland. It remained for the Royal Irish Artillery, to shew a new proof of their loyalty and patriotism, by breaking, indiscriminately, the windows of such of the inhabitants as were not enrolled in their virtuous — societies. They next proceeded to the demolition of the chapel window; which service they performed with very great spirit and effect, to the edification of several English dragoons and Irish militia, who did not seem to have a spark of*

emulation in them, but remained totally inactive. Nor can I omit doing justice to a patriotic cobbler, of the yeomanry, on this occasion braving every danger. One exploit of his deserves particular attention. A poor woman lay waking in the town; of course, a croppy. The heroic cobbler, after having reconnoitered the ground, found it occupied by old men and women smoking, and telling stories of ghosts, &c., little thinking of the meditated attack. Our hero immediately stormed the garrison, amid the shrieks, yells, and groans of the affrighted crowd, and bore off triumphantly, the lights, pipes, tobacco, &c., as lawful plunder. This morning, some devilish-minded person informed Lord Tyrone of the above exploit, with other circumstances not greatly to the honour of the young worthy; in consequence of which, the virtuous patriot has been obliged to abscond, to avoid a public whipping.....

“ F. ROURKE.

“ To Mr. W. Finerty.”

“ *Naas, Oct. 28, 1799.*

“ DEAR JEWEL—I was not unmindful of my promise; but the expected answer did not arrive. I therefore delayed writing, till I received yours of the 26th, this morning, with the pleasing news of Mary’s being blessed with a female croppy; on which occasion, I join with her friends in wishing, that her happiness may increase in a ten-fold proportion.....

“ To Mr. W. F.”

#### DISAPPOINTED HOPES OF LIBERATION.

“ How true the adage is, ‘ that hope deferred, maketh the heart sick.’ I feel it in its full force; as, notwithstanding our most sanguine expectations, no answer whatever has been received, and the old story of to-morrow is kept up, till credulity sickened, can believe no more.....

“ F. ROURKE.

“ To Mr. W. F.”



Rourke, on his release, in the summer of 1800, proceeded to the North of Ireland, his circumstances were bad, and his friends had paid the usual penalty of persons whose relatives had been engaged in the rebellion, the free quarter system had disbursed their substance, and they no longer were able to assist him. For some time he gained a miserable subsistence on the stage in Belfast. He is said to have shown some talent in comic characters, the company he belonged to appeared to have been one of strolling players. He came to Dublin about the latter part of 1801, and procured a situation of clerk, in a brewers, in Stephen's Green, or its vicinity, and a salary of £100 a year. He was in this situation, when he called on Mahon, and told him that Robert Emmet was engaged in an attempt which he had joined, and pressed Mahon to do so likewise. Mahon saw him and Emmet together at John Rourke's public house, the Golden Bottle, 138, Thomas-street, a month or so before, and Emmet's first meeting in Dublin, after his arrival with some of the leaders, was at Rourke's house. Soon after Felix called another meeting of the people, of some of the leaders of the Kildare and Wicklow men, to concert measures for bringing the people into town. Mahon had reason to believe that he was in the entire confidence of Mr. Emmet. Mahon came in from Naas with the people on the day of the outbreak, he staid in town till ten or eleven o'clock, at a public house in Thomas-street, he did not go to the market-house in Thomas-street, for every thing miscarried. Felix Rourke, during the evening, frequently came backwards and forwards, and said he feared there was no chance of doing any thing, he came in after one o'clock, and told us "it was all up," there was no further use in our remaining, and so we returned home.

That night Felix Rourke, Mahon, and Matthew Rourke, and J. Matthews, left Dublin about eleven o'clock, they went to Mahon's house and stopped with him some days. Rourke then determined on going

to Dublin, and would not be dissuaded by Mahon from doing so. He had been in Dublin only a few days, when Alderman Bloxham arrested him in the Liberty, while looking at some soldiers going through their exercise, opposite their barrack on the Coombe. He appeared to have entertained no fear of being arrested. He was brought to trial in Dublin, on the 6th of September, 1803. The witness who appeared against him was one Mahaffy, a pedlar in the Kildare militia, in his evidence he stated that he had seen Rourke in Dirty-lane, the night of the insurrection, armed with a blunderbuss, commanding as a colonel of the rebels. Those persons who were in Rourke's company that evening, and who make no secret of his connection with Emmet, declare that Mahaffy's evidence was a tissue of fabrications. He was condemned and sentenced to be executed before his father's door. The humane interference of a gentleman, acquainted with his family, prevented that part of the punishment being carried into effect. He was hanged at Rathcoole on the 10th of September, from one of the rafters of the recently burned house of his parish priest, Father Harold, who had been transported not long before, without any legal proceedings having been instituted against him.

The body of Felix Rourke was given up to his friends, and was interred in the Hospital Fields, near Dublin, in the burying ground called Bully's Acre. The spot is an object to some of interest to have known, for along the side of the grave the remains of Robert Emmet were buried ten days later. With the views of ascertaining that spot, I was directed to it by the brother of Felix Rourke.\* The grave is about ten yards distant from the old entrance gate, now closed up, very near the wall on the road side, and on the right hand of the former entrance.

Rourke was conducted from Newgate to Rathcoole,

\* John Rourke, the brother of Felix, a decent well conducted man, formerly in comfortable circumstances, is now living in Dublin, No. 3, Tripoli, Pimlico, in most abject poverty.

by a large body of yeomanry, commanded by one of the terrorists of his day, Captain Bernard Clinch, a magistrate. This man exhibited a great deal of wanton brutality to the unfortunate young man in his custody on the way to, and at the place of execution. In putting on his manacles, and removing them, unnecessary violence was used, and pain inflicted which it would seem was expected to overcome the fortitude and calmness displayed by the prisoner, but if such was the object, it was not successful. At the place of execution every possible means were had recourse to, by this unworthy magistrate, to obstruct the priest in affording the last consolations of religion to the prisoner.

His portrait, taken by Petrie at his trial, represents him as a young man of a mild prepossessing appearance; he was greatly loved by his friends, respected by his companions; he was confided in by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Robert Emmet.

## CHAPTER II.

### NARRATIVE OF BERNARD DUGGAN, AND NOTICES OF HIS ASSOCIATES.

THE following statement of the events connected with the attack on the barracks of Prosperous, and the fate of the persons engaged in it, was drawn up by one of the principal actors in it, Bernard Duggan, and presented to me. This man is spoken of, in Musgrave's works, as Barnaby Dougall, a cotton-weaver, who appeared in the attack "mounted on the horse of Captain Swayne fully accoutered," and boasting "that he was a much better man than the captain." It was a poor boast, if he made it; Duggan denies it, and the fact of his being mounted on the horse likewise.

"The man who distinguished himself above all others, in 1798, in cruelty, in mischief of every kind to the people, hunting them, terrifying their families,

burning their cabins, ill using his prisoners, and flogging them, was the celebrated Richard Longueville Swayne, a nephew, (it is stated by Duggan,) of Lord Longueville. He got unlimited power, and had a number of troops under his command sufficient to execute his inhuman deeds. He arrived in Prosperous\* on a Sunday evening, the 22nd of May, 1798, and took possession of the barracks, immediately after the Armagh militia marched away part of that regiment that lay there until Captain Swayne's arrival with his party, which consisted of one company of the city of Cork militia, and a troop of the Welsh horse, commonly called the Ancient Britons, sixty in number.† These took possession of a large building that had been a cotton factory, opposite the Fort Barrack, and was occupied by a man of the name of Wylde and his family, but many of both parties, horse and foot, were sent to different places amongst the inhabitants to live on free quarters. The country was in a horrid state of alarm and ferment, for there seemed no safety for the people; there were twelve men arrested, and lodged in the guard house of Prosperous on the 23rd, in order to be executed on the 24th, without judge or jury, under Swayne's command; he burned fifteen houses indiscriminately, on the same day, 23rd, and picketed one man on the same day, by the most severe method of torture.‡ The picketting consisted of a sharpened peg about one foot from the ground, a rope was hung from a beam, and one of the arms fixed to it, the man was then

\* The day of the battle of Prosperous, B. D. states that he went to attack Clane: within half a mile of the town he mounted a horse of one of the ancient Britons, whose life was spared, for which service, Duggan states, the horse was given to him.

† Musgrave says the party of the ancient Britons consisted of a lieutenant, a quarter master, and twenty privates.—*Quarto edition*, page 235.

‡ Sir Richard Musgrave says, when exhortations to bring in their arms produced no effect, "He, (Captain Swayne,) *agreeably to the order for exercising free quarters*, distrained the cattle, and did some injury to the property of persons well known to be disaffected, and to have concealed arms in their possession, p. 234."—R.R.M.

strung up, and should either support his weight on the sharp peg on his bare foot, or by the outstretched arm, he then would be whirled round, and called upon to inform.\* One of these houses belonged to the landlord of the town, a magistrate, and as great a loyalist as could live, namely, Henry Stammer, Esq., brother of Alderman Stammer of Dublin, who was killed by some of the countrymen, on the morning of the battle; whether by mistake or design, I shall not pretend to say, but there were five men executed in Naas for that murder. However, no one considered themselves safe in all the country, by the coercion that was going forward.

“Meantime, there came an order from the United Men’s committee, for all to rise in arms; and the signal was, the stopping of the mail coaches in the different directions, as they passed from Dublin. The people were mostly scattered away from the town, for fear of being arrested, but soon got the word, and began to assemble towards evening, near the 18th lock of the Grand Canal, convenient to the wood or domain of Donore, where some concealed themselves through the course of the day, and in a deer-park, that was also convenient for communication with each other. Dr. Esmonde was the commanding general over the people, and appointed an aide-de-camp, whose name was Philip Mite, who kept a public-house close to the canal, at the Cork-bridge. Besides these, there were a number of officers chosen by the people, and some of them would do honour to the best army in the world. I shall give the names of a few of the most distinguished on this memorable occasion:—Andrew Farrell, a farmer’s son, who led the attack on the barrack at Prosperous; John Mahon, from Bishop’s-court, a

\* Duggan, in reply to a question about the truth of a statement of Cox, in his magazine, that Swayne used to put pitch caps on the heads of prisoners, said it was not true, he never did so at Prosperous; he tortured them by flogging them at the triangles, and on one occasion to his, Duggan’s knowledge, by the practice of picketing. He was a young and very good looking man.—R.R.M.

servant of Mr. Fitzgerald ; Thomas Wylde, son of the English manufacturer ; Bryan Rourke ; Bernard Duggan, a cotton weaver in Prosperous ; Bryan M'Dermott, son of a farmer ; Edward Hanlon, farmer ; Patrick Tobin, a tailor of Prosperous, killed at Prosperous ; and Denis Hanlon, a cotton spinner, who served as the guide to Dr. Esmonde, in the attack. There were about five hundred men with pikes, and only eight firelocks, one musket, one fusee, and five pistols, and one blunderbuss to begin the battle : they came nearer the town coming on day, when they began to march towards the barracks, and by twilight they came to the rear of it, and at the end of the guard house. At the first challenge, by a sentinel, the answer was a shot by Mahon, by which one of the sentinels fell, the other, (for there were two sentinels,) ran into the barracks. Meantime a number of the people rushed into the guard house and soon despatched twelve men and a sergeant ; four men rushed into the barracks, after the sentinel, and got into Captain Swayne's room, where he slept, and, after a few words, shot him through the body with a blunderbuss ; one of the four who attacked him was Bryan Rourke, (brother of Felix Rourke,) by which he instantly died : he proposed to join the people, but it was of no avail. The four men were obliged to leap out of a window, for the hall of the barracks was then filled with the soldiers, who were roused up by the firing of shots from all parts of the town. The other troops lay on the opposite side of the way, in the cotton factory ; the ancient Britains were attacked at the same time, with the city of Cork militia, that lay in the main barracks : but in the middle of the action a circumstance took place that prevented any ultimate advantage being gained by our victory, for a foraging party of the military was on foot all night plundering in another part of the country, towards Rathcoffy, and appeared eastward, and seemed to the General, Dr. Esmonde, (who was at some little distance from the town, at the time of the attack on the barracks, being

in command of the whole party,) to be an army from Dublin, and that the whole plan of the people was discovered. Thus, deceived, he despatched his Aid-de-camp, Philip Mite, to ascertain, and inform him, how the battle was going on, but that cowardly villain returned with a false report of the destruction of the people, and caused the general to give the word of retreat, in order to save all he could of his men; and all that heard the word fled away, and left only a few about the barracks, until it was demolished at least by fire that was set to it, and destroyed it, by the magazine exploding, then all the men returned into the town again; but the General, and his Aid-de-camp, they belonged to a corps of yeomen under the command of Captain Griffith; Dr. Esmonde was first Lieutenant, and Mite was Sergeant. Esmonde went into Naas to join his corps of yeomen but chiefly to see the state of affairs; but Philip Mite put on his regimental clothing, and went immediately to Mellifont, where his captain lived; awoke the captain, who was in bed, and told the whole affair to him, who went directly into the town of Naas and arrested Dr. Esmonde. He was sent soon after to Dublin, and was executed on Carlisle Bridge. This gentleman was one of the finest looking men in the whole kingdom. His death was greatly lamented by all who knew him; and only for misfortune the people would have got him in exchange for a prisoner that they had in custody, the son of General Eustace, who was a clergyman; the rebels proposed to exchange him for Dr. Esmonde, the proposal was made, but during the time Eustace bribed the party who had charge of him in a Quaker's meeting house, and effected his escape.\*

\* Doctor Esmonde was the descendant of Sir Thomas Esmonde, whose name is to be found in the Act of Settlement, as one of the few fortunate gentlemen of his persuasion, whom Charles the Second restored to a remnant of their paternal property. He was restored to his seat, and 2000 acres of his land, the remainder having been previously graciously conferred on the Duke of Albemarle. Sir Jonah Barrington was extremely desirous that the 3rd George should confiscate what the 2nd Charles spared. A few days after

the execution of Dr. Esmonde, Sir Jonah, in his place in the Irish parliament, spoke strongly in favour of the attainder of his property.

Dr. Esmonde was a lieutenant in the Kildare yeomanry cavalry. He took an active part in local politics, electioneering, and Catholic affairs of his country, so early as 1793-4. He was early connected with the society of United Irishmen; and to him the orders were sent down for the outbreak of the insurrection in Kildare, on the 22nd of May. He waited on Swayne on his arrival at Prosperous, and urged him strongly to give the people time to bring in the weapons. Swayne was sent down, according to Musgrave, for the express purpose of exercising "free quarters," and he carried his order into execution with a vengeance.

This was before the insurrection broke out that the scourgings of the people began; at the triangles in the market-house that picketing a human being was put in practice; that burning of cabins; trampling down of crops; letting loose a licentious soldiery on the people. The destruction of the marauding soldiery was determined on, and accomplished in a manner shocking to humanity.

During the short period that John Sheares had the chief direction of the affairs of the United Irishmen, more activity was displayed by him than any of his predecessors. The plan of the insurrection, intended to have been carried into effect the 23rd of May, had been matured by him. On the 20th of May, two gentlemen of Kildare, a Mr. Lube and a Mr. Ando, carried to Kildare from Dublin the orders for the rising on the 23rd. These orders, on the same day, were communicated to Dr. Esmonde, at Bathcoole. John Sheares had been recently in Kildare; he was about to proceed to Cork when he was arrested, with the view of forwarding the measures he had communicated to the Provincial Committees. He obtained early information of Reynolds's disclosures to Mr. Cope, and took immediate steps to put the Kildare Committee on its guard; and, there is reason to believe, got Reynolds himself arrested by the officer commanding in his neighbourhood. On the 16th of April, Reynolds was called on to attend a meeting of the United Irishmen, at the Curragh; the object of which meeting, he suspected, boded no good to him, and he declined to attend it. His son, in his biography, says:—

"His father was informed, the same evening, by one of the United Irishmen, a Mr. Kinsella, that John Sheares had recently been at Dr. Esmonde's house, near Naas, and, having called a private meeting of some of the county delegates, had informed them officially, in the name of the Directory, that Mr. Reynolds was the man who had caused the arrests on the 12th of March." The consequence was, that on the 18th of March, Reynolds was removed from his office of member of the County Committee, and Dr. Esmonde was appointed in his place.

At this time, John Sheares was ostensibly in the county, attending the trials that were then taking place. Mr. Reynolds says:—

"The jail of Athy was then crowded with prisoners, and amongst

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\* See Reynolds's Life by his Son, vol. i. p. 221.



others, five men of the names of Penden, Farley, Brannoeks, and two brothers, named Germain. These men, in consequence of orders from the Provincial Committee, conveyed to them, it is supposed, by Mr. John Sheares, who came down from Dublin to make arrangements for their defence, proposed to Colonel Campbell, in whose custody they were, to make some important revelations if their lives had been spared, and then they deposed upon oath, that they severally held the rank of captain of a regiment of the United Irishmen, of which Mr. Reynolds, of Kilkea Castle was the colonel, and that he was, moreover, an active leader of the United Irishmen.”\*

The party that proceeded to attack the troops at Prosperous, on the morning of the —th, 1798, was commanded by five young men, of undaunted courage, from the ranks of the people,—Thomas Wyle, John Mahon, Andrew Farrell, Bryan Rourke, and Bernard Duggan. The force was accompanied by Dr. Esmonde to the verge of the town of Prosperous, but in what capacity, why he was posted there, or how the panic spread, I have never seen clearly pointed out. He did not accompany the party who attacked the barracks, he remained with the main body on a hill, overlooking the country round the town, and when some false intelligence of the approach of the army was brought, the men under him fled, and he returned by day-break, with a few stragglers, to Rathcoole. The wonder at this period was, how any Catholic, holding a commission in a yeomanry corps, could bear with the insolent bigotry, the insulting arrogance, the impudent assumption of superiority, the offensive suspicion of allegiance, displayed towards him by the officers of the religion of the state.

The Orange yeomen of 1798, seemed determined to drive the Catholics, in their different corps, to rebellion. In Wexford they outraged Captain John Grogan, a Magistrate, and Captain of the Heathfield cavalry, one of the most efficient officers, by scouting a proposal for the employment of a Catholic soldier, who had volunteered on most perilous service, on the grounds that he was a Papist, and who could trust one? In the case of Dr. Esmonde's father, we have a still more fearful example of the persevering spirit of Orange malignity. The family was Catholic; the father and son both yeomanry cavalry officers.

Sir Thomas Esmonde, the father, of Ballinastra, and Mr. Laurence Doyle, both officers in the Castletown yeomanry cavalry of Captain Knox's corps, could not escape the general suspicion against Catholics, though they were known to have performed their duty at the battle of Arklow, with great advantage and efficiency. In Saunders's account of this occurrence, it is acknowledged they had distinguished themselves greatly. They were arrested on the 12th of June, 1798, at Arklow, and conducted, under a strong guard, to Dublin, where they continued some days in confinement, and were then liberated, without the shadow of a charge being brought against them. How greatly was such conduct calculated to turn loyalty into disaffection, and feelings of attachment, on the part of the sons,

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\* See Reynold's Life by his Son, vol. i. p. 173.

brothers, and other relatives of the persons so maltreated, into dispositions hostile to government, and its perverted powers. Dr. Esmonde was tried by a court-martial on the charge of deserting his corps, and aiding the rebels at Prosperous. One of the insurgents, who had accompanied him to Prosperous, and returned with him, Philip Mite, had no sooner left him than he proceeded to the Colonel of the regiment, and acquainted him with Esmonde's having accompanied the rebels to Prosperous, and having just returned. Esmonde was immediately arrested, tried on the 13th, by court-martial, and convicted, and condemned to die. On the 14th, he was taken in a cart from the Provost, in the Royal barracks, in Dublin, to Carlisle-bridge, and at the corner of Sackville-street, on the right hand side of the bridge, he was executed on a temporary scaffold, where Bacon had suffered a few days previously. The punishment of death was not deemed a sufficient vindication of the laws in his case; the disgrace of bringing him to the scaffold in his military uniform, with his coat turned inside out, was added to it. He exhibited great firmness, not only on his trial, but at the place of execution. The circumstance of his dying without the attendance of a clergyman, may be regarded as a proof of the extent to which the terrorism of the day was carried.

In person, Dr. Esmonde was remarkably comely; of a tall commanding figure. His character was unimpeachable; he was beloved in his neighbourhood for his charity; the consideration which he invariably showed for the sick poor, and the anxiety he felt to better the condition of the peasantry. Dr. Esmonde left several children. The late Mr. Thomas O'Meara and Dr. Esmonde were married to two sisters. Several years after the decease of the latter, his widow married the late Harvey Morris de Montmerenci, then in exile in France. In Saunders's "*News-Letter*," of the 15th of June, there is the following account of a very summary execution, succeeding the account of Esmonde's:—"A little previous to Mr. Esmonde's being taken from the barracks, a person was brought thither, by a party of horse from Watling-street, who was recognized to have killed a quarter-master of the regiment to which the party belonged. It appeared the unfortunate man had made some effort to escape, but received a couple of pistol shots from his guards, which prevented his execution in a more formal manner!" On reading this, I presumed the unfortunate man must have been some blood-thirsty wretch, who had been taken in some murderous act; But such was not the case, the hands of the slaughtered man had never been stained with blood, nor raised in revolt. He was a quiet, well-ordered, respectable citizen, he had committed no crime, and had given no offence to any human being.

The result of much inquiry on this subject, leads to the conviction that the unfortunate man was innocent of the crime he was charged with, and had been barbarously and wantonly murdered. Mr. Ryan was a respectable and most inoffensive man, a skinner, residing in Watling-street. He happened to be standing at his door, on the 14th of June, when a troop of yeomanry cavalry passed by his house, on their way to the Royal barracks. Some spirit of wanton wicked-

ness appears to have possessed one of these men ; the mere act of Ryan standing at his door, and of looking at the soldiers, instead of skulking into his shop, as one of his rank, not in uniform, was at that time expected to do, seemed to have enraged this wretch, and to have induced him to cry out, "that's the fellow who killed my comrade." The unfortunate Ryan was instantly seized by the hair of the head, and was thus dragged between the horses of two dragoons, riding abreast, who held him by the hair till they reached the barracks. The Provost, of terrible notoriety, under the charge of the infamous Major Swan, the brother-in-law of Mr. Cooke, the Secretary under Lord Castlereagh, was inside the walls of the barracks. The cart, in which Dr. Esmonde was placed, and was proceeding to the place of execution, was met at the gate of the barracks by the party who were dragging Ryan to the Provost ; the wretched man was then unable to stand upright. The dragoons who were dragging him, either exasperated at the sight of Esmonde, or maddened by the sudden exhibition of another of those scenes of death they were continually witnessing, gave loose to their ferocity ; he was in the act of being sabred, when one of them drew out his pistol, and shot him dead.

I have not been able to ascertain if there was a court-martial held on the murderers ; but murder at that time met with no punishment. Had Lord Castlereagh been reminded of this rather extreme act of rigor, beyond the law in the House of Commons, he would have held up his *white hands*, and protested he had never received any official account of such a barbarous act. But why should he be ignorant of the manner in which he suffered his Secretary to connive at the terrible crimes committed by the brother-in-law of Swan, and his mirmidons, in the Provost prison. A friend of mine, who was acquainted with Ryan, Mr. William Powell, informed me, there never was a man less likely to commit an act of violence than Ryan ; he took no part in politics, he was remarkably timid, a quiet inoffensive citizen. His widow married Mr. Whelan, of Smithfield, an opulent man, and is still living.—  
R. R. M.

### CHAPTER III.

AFTER the battle of Prosperous, the men all came back into the town, and soon got plenty of arms, muskets, &c., and made an attempt on the town of Cleane, where some of the Armagh militia, and a party of yeomen cavalry, lay, but to little effect, as both parties withdrew, without much ado.

A few days passed over. When there was tranquillity in the town, the dead soldiers were buried, in

all about one hundred and fourteen—fifty-six Ancient Britons, and eighty-seven of the Cork militia.\* Some twenty were buried in one hole, in a garden, and others in different places about the town, where they fell, as not one of the militia escaped, except by mercy, which was fortunately shown to a few. In a day or two after, the people formed a camp at a place near Timahoe, and that camp continued in the country, within eighteen miles of the city of Dublin, and five from Naas, and was joined by many from the adjoining counties, until the government sent a flag of truce, and proposed a peace, by order of Lord Cornwallis. When a peace was proposed, and hostages were sent, namely, Major Cope and Captain Courtney, both of the Armagh militia, and kept in custody until eighteen of the officers of the Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare militia went to conclude the peace with General Wilford. Two hours elapsed before they returned, after peace was concluded, and pardon promised; and the leaders were to be allowed to leave the country.

“ Thomas Wylde and myself were taken in Prosperous, in October, 1798, and after a long confinement were brought to trial in 1800,† and acquitted honourably by the direction of the Judge, Baron George, in virtue of the amnesty act, as you may see by Lord Longville’s speech, in the first British Parliament after the Union. We were detained in prison, however, about six months after our trial, and then liberated. We all became implicated in the business of 1803, but a reward of £900 was offered for the apprehension of Wylde, Burke, and Mahon. I went to Spain shortly after my liberation in 1803, but returned home again, though I had sufficient interest to obtain an offer of employment in the Spanish service. Andrew

\* This account is greatly at variance with Musgrave’s statement; he estimates the total number of the killed at forty-one, and nine wounded, of the Cork militia; one captain, two sergeants, one drummer, and twenty-three privates of the Ancient Britons were killed, and five taken prisoners.—*Musgrave’s Hist.* p. 239.

† Colonel Lumm furnished Duggan with money for his defence.—R.R.M.

Farrell, the bravest of the brave, had surrendered at the conclusion of the peace; he was a leading officer at the battle of Prosperous, and a state prisoner until the treaty of Amiens, when he was liberated with many others, who gave themselves up after that treaty; he went to America, and did not live long after. Mr. Felix Rourke took an active part in the affairs of 1798, headed a party at the time of the general turn out, and went to Castle Kelly, from that to Whelp Rock, and to Blackamore Hill, where the people were encamped for a considerable time, and had many encounters with the army; he went to Hacketstown, where the Kildare met the Wexford party, and came down from that to Prosperous and fought the battle of Clonard, after which Father Kearns and Mr. Perry were taken and hung in Edenderry; shortly after this the peace was concluded, Felix, and his brother Charles, and Bartholomew Mahon,\* gave themselves up to General Dundas, and were sent to prison to Naas, where they remained nearly two years and got out; Felix went to Belfast for a time, and came home again, and was a book keeper for a brewer, and had a £100 a year, near Stephen's Green, and remained until the year 1803, when Robert Emmet's business took effect.

John Doorley was the son of a respectable farmer, living in Tullymore, near Rathangan, in the County of Kildare, who, on the morning of the 24th of May, 1798, with a number of countrymen armed with pikes and other weapons, dashed into the town of Rathangan, and defeated the army that lay there, and took the commanding officer, Major Malone, prisoner, and let him go on a parole of honour, on condition that if any of the people should fall into the hands of the army they should be treated in like manner; but when the same John Doorley, the rebel captain as they called him, after the battle of Clonard, was taken

\* This man I was acquainted with, he was an honest, sensible, fearless, and remarkably mild, well conducted man. The last time I called at his house I found him in his coffin, in 1843.—R.R.M.

by the king's troops, he was hung, notwithstanding his lenity to Major Malone. Poor Doorley pleaded his humane conduct towards their officer when he fell into the hands of his people, but to no effect.\*

The celebrated William Putnam M'Cabe was the

\* Young Doorley first distinguished himself, among the insurgents, at the battle of Rathangan. He headed the Kildare men in their attack on that town. The royal troops, in possession of the town, consisted of some companies of yeomen, commanded by Captain James Spencer, land agent to the Duke of Leinster, and a part of a company of the North Cork regiment, an entire company of which were killed at Prosperous. Doorley and his men became masters of the town. The first act of Doorley, after his victory, was to form a barricade to impede the entrance of the troops then on their march from Philipstown. In Doorley's absence Captain Spencer, (an old man in his seventieth year,) who had remained in the town, trusting to the clemency of the insurgents, was barbarously murdered by some of them. The miscreants who committed this atrocious act, were the first to fly when the king's troops made their appearance. Rathangan was retaken. The royal troops were resolved they should not be outdone in savagery. They seized on an officer of Spencer's corps, a Roman Catholic gentleman of the name of Molloy, (brother of the celebrated preacher, the Rev. Nicholas Molloy,) who had remained in the town with his captain after the flight of the yeomen, and without trial or proof, or other evidence of guilt, except the prima facie one of his religion, they hanged him immediately after their entrance into the town. Doorley on the dispersion of the insurgents made his way to his father's farm at Tullymore. He found the house and offices burned to the ground. His wife and aged father were living in one of the ruined out houses. Young Doorley had now no other than his country's suppressed cause to aid, he had his own wrongs, his father's ruin, his wife's sufferings to revenge.

"To find one's hearth-stone turned into a tomb, and round its once warm ashes palely lying the ashes of our hopes, it is a deep grief," aye deep enough to drive men mad, and to make our dread object seem, from that time forth, the sole end and aim of their existence. Young Doorley did not linger long among the ruins of his father's house and property; he joined the rebel force under Aylmer of Painstown, and Ware of Maynooth. After the defeat at Ovedstown, Doorley repaired to Athy, convened a meeting of the captains of the United Irishmen, and proposed an immediate attack on Stradbally, in the Queen's County. This effort failed, he attempted to get into the County of Westmeath, reached the Boyne, was taken, sent to Mullingar, and it is hardly necessary to add, put to death. Doorley's father lived to the patriarchal age of a hundred. The old man was honoured for his son's sake by the people throughout the country. He ended his days at Tullymore, on the estate of Mr. William Murphy.—R. R. M.

son of a respectable watch and clock maker, in the town of Belfast, and served his time to that business; he was appointed a delegate for the United Irishmen, previous to 1798, and went through many counties on that mission; he had great intimacy with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and was at one time arrested in his company, but Lord Edward escaped that night down Watling-street, and got into the Earl of Moira's house, but M'Cabe was brought to the Provost, and by his cunning and artful account of himself, Major Sandys let him away, but soon after finding out whom he had let go, offered a great reward for his apprehension. He was very active at the time the French were in Killala and Ballinamuck, endeavouring to raise the country to aid the French, but when they surrendered, he and three other gentlemen came through the County Kildare, and passed Naas at night, leaving it to the right hand side, and came through the country until they came near the Cork bridge of the Grand Canal, close by Phill Mite's public house, where there was a guard house, and a party of the Londonderry militia, of which the party was not aware, and were much surprised when the centinel challenged them at some distance, and at a late hour, about 12 o'clock at night, the guard advanced, but the gentleman retreated. Mr. M'Cabe and the other gentlemen separated, one of them was a Mr. Palmer, and another, a French gentleman, got through the demesne of Donore to a farmer's house of the name of Malone, and M'Cabe and the guide got by the guard, leaving a sack with a portmanteau in it, containing maps and papers relative to the plans of operation and movements of the French, as well as the United Irishmen, which would, if detected, be the cause of immediate death. The sack with the portmanteau lay there until morning, when I went before daylight and brought it into Prosperous. M'Cabe, and the gentleman who was with him, got into Dublin, when M'Cabe sent for me to come to the house of Mr. O'H——, of New-row, Thomas-street, after

which time M'Cabe went to France, and commenced manufacturing cotton in the city of Rouen, and built a factory, but he gave it up, I believe, for want of means, as he lent £8,000 to Arthur O'Connor, when he was appointed to the command of the second division of the Irish Legion, which caused M'Cabe to come to Great Britain and Ireland, where he was arrested, and lay a long time in Kilmainham, and was removed to Prussia-street on account of his health that was quite impaired. Bernard Duggan visited him in prison, and went on his business to Hamilton Rowan, Esq., who was an arbitrator between him and Arthur O'Connor, along with a Mr. Burgess of Drogheda. Mr. M'Cabe would not abide by their decision.

Thomas Wylde and myself were tried at Naas, in 1800, on a charge of high treason. The Judge, Baron George, at the close of the proceedings, charged the jury that they were entitled to the benefit of the amnesty act, and they were, therefore, acquitted, but were detained in prison about six months. Previous to trial they had been arrested in Prosperous, in October 1798. Wylde and I came to Dublin, after our liberation, and lived there till 1803. Henry Wylde, the father of the latter, removed his business from Prosperous to Leixlip, and from thence to Dublin. He carried on the cotton manufacture for upwards of thirty years. He died at an old age in Cork-street. He had three sons and four daughters. The cause of Wylde's settling in Ireland was the following. During the American revolution several Englishmen joined and purchased a quantity of locks, and barrels of guns, and bayonets, and freighted a ship to America for their conveyance there to help the people; and Henry Wylde went to France and got passports from the King of France, and Dr. Franklin who was the Ambassador from America. Wylde, at his return from France, took shipping for America, and put into Londonderry for water. Meantime some of the party had given information to the government of England, and a vessel was immediately sent in pursuit of Wylde.



He was taken in Derry, and a rigorous search made for the passports, but they were concealed in his child's dress, the child named Thomas. There is a brother of Thomas Wylde, Benjamin, still living on his farm in the County of Kildare, near Rathcoffy, but he never had any thing to do with any party politics.

The men who were connected with Mr. Emmet, or were waiting in the country, to co-operate there with his effort, after the failure of his plans, did not think it prudent to remain any longer together, as there was rewards offered by the Government, of £300, for each of them; they then separated, and went to different parts of the country for safety, under an agreement to meet again, if possible, in the same place in three weeks time. Part went one road and part another road. Five of them went as far as the County Galway, within seven miles of the town of Galway, to a place called Athfry, near Lord Wall's courts—namely, Duggan, Lennon, Stafford, Quigley, and the two Parrotts. The three weeks having elapsed, at which period it was proposed that all of them were to meet again, but then it was found to be dangerous and inconvenient, as there was such rewards offered, so that no more than two came to the place intended, namely—John Mahon and Thomas Wylde. The latter, when he found none others coming, remained there but a short time, John Mahon remained a while longer, say about half an hour, until it was nearly dusk. When he was preparing to set off through the back door, into the garden or orchard, he saw a soldier placed at the back door, in the passage leading to the barn; he withdrew to the front door, which opened towards the road, and looking out over the top of the door he saw a company of soldiers drawn up outside of the house, he again returned to the back door and shot the soldier who was placed there, and made his escape down through the garden and orchard, at the end of which there were six soldiers placed. On seeing them he cried out loud, as if he had a great number of men with him, "Come on boys." At the hearing of this those

six soldiers ran across a corn field, by which means Mahon made his escape through Hamilton Rowan's demesne, and got clear off: meantime the soldiers that were drawn up before the house, on hearing the shot fired which killed the sentinel at the back door, kept up firing into the house all night, until day light, thinking it was full of people, as they were informed of the meeting that was intended to take place there; when day appeared they broke in the door and entered the house, but, to their astonishment, they found no man there, only five women who escaped by lying down close along the wall next to the side where the soldiers were firing from: of course they found those poor creatures in a deplorable fright. Those women were—old Mrs. Quigley, her two daughters, Mrs. Mahon and her sister, the soldiers went and got a car, and took a feather bed out of the house, and carried off the dead soldier, imagining it was themselves who shot him through the doors and published the same, next day, in the Newspapers.\* The following

\* The following is James Hope's account of the same occurrence with some additional particulars:—

"I worked for some time between Tullamore and Tyrrellspass. At the time I went I was told by some friends that it might, perhaps, not be safe to remain there, being a stranger. A short time before two men, named Thomas Wylde and John Mahon, had come to work at Cotton Machinery in an old Castle near Phillipstown, called the Gasebo of Ballycown: that information had been given to two officers that lay in Phillipstown who went to arrest them; when they arrived at the Castle the men were at breakfast on an arched roof, the officers called on them to surrender and attempted to gain admittance, but the place was very strong and the door well secured. Mahon looked down and bid them tell their business. One of the officers answered—'Come down you rebel and surrender.' Mahon threw down a large stone, and this commencement of hostilities was followed by a shot of a pistol. Mahon then took up a blunderbuss and shot one of the officers dead. 'Will you leave that now,' cried Mahon. 'No, you rebel,' was the reply, and it was accompanied with another pistol shot. One of the parties in the old building fired a second shot, and the other officer was wounded—a part of the seal of his watch was driven into his thigh. This ended the conflict. Wylde and Mahon walked out with their arms loaded and ready to resist any impediment, but they met with none. Wylde and Mahon soon after were observed going into a house by some

night, says Duggan, John Mahon came in the evening to the house of one of the party who had been prescribed for leading a party of men who had come to Dublin on the night of the 23d; he, Mahon, was surprised to see this person, whose name was *Thomas Frayne*, living about a mile from Quigley's, preparing to go to bed quietly under such circumstances, he not appearing to be under any apprehension; Mahon related to him the circumstance of his shooting the soldier and his narrow escape, but to no other person did he communicate this matter until it appeared in the public papers, which caused him to suspect *Frayne* and to avoid going near him again. Then Mahon, Wylde, and John Burke, being part of those that had been prescribed, and £300 each offered for them, as before mentioned, went down to the King's County to conceal themselves, and, to guard against suspicion, they resided in the Jail of Phillipstown, as a brother-in-law of Wylde's, who was keeper of that prison, and Mahon and he were married to Wylde's two sisters, and, in order still to prevent any suspicion, they began to work with Carpenters tools in an old ruined building that had been converted into a wind mill as if they were preparing to carry on some manufactory; meantime some individuals recognised them, and gave information to a magistrate who went immediately to the Commanding Officer in Phillipstown, a Captain of

yeomen in the neighbourhood; some ten or a dozen of them went to the house at night, but Wylde and Mahon had taken care not to sleep inside. They were concealed at the rear of the house when the yeomen arrived, and all of them went into the house except one who stood sentry at the door. Mahon crept along the road side and knocked him down and took his gun, he then seized the handle of the door, and threatened the disarmed man with instant death if he attempted to rise, while Wylde unbound one of the farmer's cows and got a rope, turned the cow out and tied a stick across the door; they then marched away with their prisoner to a sufficient distance to prevent the possibility of pursuit and sent him back to his comrades. They got into Dublin. Mahon took his wife with him—she was Wylde's sister; she, her brother, and husband got off to America. Wylde and Mahon died there. I saw Mahon's widow in Dublin, after her return, at her father's, who was an Englishman."

the Green Horse, they brought with them a Sergeant and a Constable, thinking this force sufficient, and went to this old wind mill where those three men were, and expecting to get, of course, the nine hundred pounds reward for taking them, and when they demanded entrance of those within fired a blunderbuss, which killed the Captain and wounded another officer, after which those three men walked out, in the middle of daylight, and went, through the country, to the County of Kildare, near to Naas, where they remained a short time and then got into Dublin, where they were concealed in a nobleman's house until they got an opportunity of going to America, by a stratagem of three other men standing, in their place, the inspection of Major Sirr and his spies in the ship as it was entering the bay going out; when the Major and his men left the ship, and came a little distance away, Mahon, Wylde, and Burke, coming over at the same time from Howth in a boat, to the ship, rowed by two men, entered the ship on the contrary side, and the other three men, who had been inspected, went down into the boat in their place—the ship sailed off immediately and the boat returned back to Howth. The Major, from a distance, saw the boat coming with five persons and returning with the same number, and, therefore, had no suspicion that might lead to a discovery. It must be here observed, after the killing of the persons who went to arrest them, a fresh proclamation was issued—offering a reward of £900 for their apprehension: the jailer Morrow was dismissed from being jailer.\* We must now return to the state of Dublin, after the death of Mr. Emmet the government offered large rewards for every person concerned in the affair. Numbers of innocent men were put to death; out of twenty persons who were executed, there were only four men who were really concerned

\* Thomas Wylde got in safety to the United States; he died in New York in 1813. There was account of his death in Cox's Magazine for that year. Cox states that he was born in England, his father's country.—R. R. M.

in the conspiracy, namely—Mr. Emmet, Henry Howley, Felix Rourke, and Mr. Russell. We must return again to the men who went to the county Galway, namely—Quigley, Stafford, the two Parrott's (John and William), and myself, after the night of the intended meeting at Rathcoffy, when government was disappointed in having those persons taken who were to come to the meeting, as they had information it is plain when they sent soldiers there to arrest them, Lord Dunlow, being one of the Privy Council, and knowing, by the same information, that the above-mentioned four persons were in the county Galway, went up to Arthfry, where those men passed as bathers at the salt water; but, previous to his arrival, those men consulted with each other with regard to their own safety, as they had sent a man from that neighbourhood into Dublin to make an inquiry among their friends to know how affairs stood in Dublin. Getting no account they became uneasy and, at length, were induced to form a plan to quit that place; accordingly I went across the Bay of Galway, to the West, in a sailing boat that happened to be going in that direction, in order to find out a fitter place of safety until they had some intelligence from Dublin. I was not more than a quarter of an hour gone, when Lord Dunlow and a number of gentlemen, with a corps of yeomen, surrounded the place where these men were, and took Quigley, Stafford, and William and John Parrott, and likewise Lennon who came along with me from Dublin, but Lennon, being arch and very "knowledgable," he humbugged them so well as to cause them to let him go, considering him ignorant and insignificant; but when Lord Dunlow came up to the prisoners, he being awhile absent, after their arrest, with other gentlemen of the country, and missed Lennon he got extremely angry and made every pursuit after him, but to no effect; the other prisoners were taken to Dublin and lodged in jail. I got to the west side of Galway, upwards of twenty miles beyond Galway, and while in a house there, the next day, I heard my comrades were arrested

whom I left in Arthfry, and that the army was in pursuit of another person that escaped from that place, whom they stated was a French General. Let it be remarked here that every movement of the army in this quarter flies through this country with telegraphic despatch, in consequence of so many being connected with the smuggling line. On hearing this report I felt very uneasy, but I met a man who pointed out to me the way to get into the interior of Connamara, where I remained for eighteen months.

“ To return to the prisoners—they were taken to Dublin. Stafford and Quigley soon after their arrival were brought to the bar and arraigned before Lord Norberry.

“ A young counsellor, named Campbell, found a flaw in the indictment ; it was the first day this young man appeared at the bar. The matter was submitted to the twelve judges, who decided in favour of the young lawyer. Quigley and Stafford were remanded back to prison, and soon after some accommodating measures were proposed to those prisoners. One of them, namely, Quigley, entered into some arrangements, not known to any person but himself and the government ; however, after this arrangement, whatever they were, no person suffered death since that period, but many were arrested, and all remained in prison until the year 1806. The Duke of Bedford came over here as Lord Lieutenant, and ordered all the state prisoners to be liberated, and myself along with the rest, who was also then in prison.

“ After having remained an exile in Connamara for eighteen months, feeling anxious to know the state of affairs, I set off, and came privately into Dublin, where I was only one night when I was arrested, having written a note, by one of the prisoner's sisters, to my comrades, whom I learned were still in jail, to let them know I was well, and to ascertain how they were. She gave the note to her brother, but soon after, the place where I was was surrounded by a party of Major Sirr's men, from the Castle. They

brought me to the Tower, where I remained for seven weeks, and no one of my friends was admitted to see me. The Major, and many other persons in authority, visited me frequently, seeking to get some information from me. I was removed, after some time, to Kilmainham, where some of my old companions were; Quigley, Stafford, the two Parrotts, and others, were there. I remained until all the prisoners were liberated on the death of Pitt. In about a month, or six weeks after, I went to the Continent, where I might have been employed in the Spanish service, but after a short time I returned to my own country.

*(Signed)*

“ B. DUGGAN.”

While the attention of the reader is directed to the men who took a part in the Kildare insurrection, it may not be an unfitting opportunity to refer to a subject which has been too slightly noticed in a former series. The only detailed account of the massacre at the Rath of Kildare, on the 29th of May, 1798, has been recently published by the translator and publisher of M'Geoghegan's History of Ireland, Mr. P. O'Kelly, in his account of the rebellion, and especially of the Kildare movement, of which he was fully competent to speak. He was the person appointed by the insurgents to enter into terms with General Duff, and held the rank of colonel in their body. His account I believe to be perfectly truthful. His character, I have reason to know, entitles any statement of his to credit. The following is his account:—

“ We now fall into one of the most distressing scenes that has ever fallen to the lot or duty of an historian to record. On Tuesday, May 29, '98, Major General Sir James Duff, arrived early in the morning, in the town of Kildare: he had been ordered to hasten from Limerick, where he had been stationed, and to join the troops quartered over the country, and engaged in quelling the insurrection that had broken out. The news had gone forth, that the Kilcullen men, and the

entire body who had been in camp upon Knockallen, were pardoned for their past deeds, and that General Dundas, who was the peacemaker, would secure the people against every outrage hereafter, from his having given protection to some of the officers\* who had been appointed to a high command in the United army. Under all these circumstances, the people of Kildare hoped that general Duff would act in a similar way as General Dundas had done, and knowing that terms and a treaty of surrender was to be sought on their part, Cooper of Ballymannny advised them to proceed to the Rath of the Curragh, and that he himself would undertake to influence General Duff to take their surrender there.

“ This was a fatal advice which Cooper gave to the people of Kildare. Garry, who had been the appointed captain of that town and district, and high in the confidence of Lord Edward, deserted his post on the arrival of General Duff, and left the people who had confided in him, to their sad and awful catastrophe, as we shall presently perceive. The credulous multitude, believing that Cooper would not deceive nor lead them astray, took his counsel, and proceeded to the Rath of the Curragh.

“ Major-General Sir James Duff remained in Kildare, with the troops destined for the bloody tragedy, until he would receive from Cooper (who planned the destruction of those people,) the account that they were collected, and assailable on every side. No spot could have been chosen, in which the slaughter of so many men might be so easily accomplished by an army, when the victims intended for it were upon the spot : neither ditch, hedge, nor house was within the

\* “ According to appointment between General Dundas and me, when the surrender of the arms was going forward, I waited upon him the day following, in order to obtain a protection. He observed and said, ‘ You are a very sensible young man ; go home to your own district, keep the colliers quiet, and if they do not, we will smother them in their pits.’ He then handed me a very honourable protection. The mention of this will appear again in No. 9.



distance of about two English miles, except the stand-house, or some scattered stabling for race horses: these were perhaps about a mile from this scene of carnage, just to be commenced as soon as the army would arrive at where the deluded men of Kildare were to be sacrificed.

“ Without ceremony, Duff commanded the rebels, as he called them, to throw their arms into a heap, and after this had been complied with, he ordered them to kneel at a distance from where the arms were thrown, saying loudly at the moment, to beg the King’s pardon for the outrage of having rebelled. This command, so perfidious in its meaning and tendency, was complied with; which being done, a dead silence appeared to prevail among the troops. Major-General Sir James Duff instantly thundered out, ‘ Charge, and spare no rebel !’ Havoc, consternation, and death now spread themselves on all sides. The horror of the scene was and is indescribable.

“ The cutting down and slaughtering this unarmed multitude was but too easily accomplished; the troops consisted entirely of horsemen—the Black Horse, commanded by General Dunn, and the Foxhunters, commanded by Lord Roden, besides Captain Bagot’s yeomen cavalry, were too powerful executioners to be withstood, by men who were disarmed and upon their knees. The number of victims who fell beneath these murderers’ murdering sword was 325. In one street alone of Kildare town, distant from the scene of slaughter about two English miles, there were reckoned eighty-five widows, the following morning. This carnage outweighs in enormity every act committed on either side, the army or the people, throughout the disasters of ’98. The memory of it should never be effaced—it should instruct the warrior to spare, and the vanquished not to confide.

“ On the evening succeeding the insurrection, the town of Kildare was in the possession of the people; the few militia men who were quartered in it, having fled, some to Athy, some to Naas. The coaches left

Dublin as usual, the insurrectionary movement at Naas having been completely suppressed; and the overthrow of the insurgents, in their attack upon Kilcullen Bridge, left undisputed possession of the intervening parts of the country in the hands of the military; therefore no interruption to the Limerick and Cork coaches thus far, could arise.

“It now happened, unfortunately for the town of Kildare, that the nephew of General Sir James Duff, was a passenger in the Limerick coach; and on its arrival in the town, the countrymen were scattered over every part of it; and their attention was directed to see who might be inside. On discovering this young man, and finding that he was (from his own words) the nephew of a General in the army, these ill-guided men dragged him out of the coach, and piked him. This circumstance alone, horrible to relate, and not to be palliated by any act of suffering or punishment inflicted on the perpetrators, might be adduced by some, in extenuation of the subsequent crime of the uncle. The dispassionate reader cannot, however, exculpate such a monster (independently of his treachery and punic faith,) for a general butchery and carnage. It was not with him, as a Heathen writer advised, ‘*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*’ To spare the contrite and subdue the haughty. The people on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, should not have been collectively\* immolated, to appease the manes of an individual.”

“A few of the victims, it was said about five, escaped by running through the ranks as they were charging. A few lay as if dead, and being woefully hacked and mangled, were passed over as some of the heap of slaughtered men. One athletic young fellow ran about a mile and a half, when he was pursued by eight yeomen of Bagot’s corps; he gained a fallow field just adjoining the Curragh, and having so far escaped his pursuers, he stooped and picked up two stones, which he flung with such vigour against two of them, that he disabled both, and rendered them unable to discharge their pistols. Two more came on, and by a further effort, he disabled a third also, with stones which he scrambled up. It was said, that two more fired at him without effect, but it was acknowledged by them that he parried the firing with so much alertness, as to elude any aim

The information which I obtained from Bernard Duggan, in the form of a narrative of the events which took place immediately previous to the massacre at Prosperous and subsequent to it, and also in that of a series of replies to queries of mine on the subject in question, I think it right to state is open to suspicion; nevertheless, bringing to the consideration of it all the information from other sources which have come to my hands, I feel bound also to declare my conviction of the truth of all the important statements in that narrative.

Many of the men who were considered faithful to their principles in 1798 and 1803, who were proof against all perils and temptations in the times of actual danger, when their lives were in the utmost jeopardy, a few years later, when poverty assailed them, became traitors to their principles and hypocrites who still pretended to maintain their old opinions. This is a curious subject for the study of the dissectors of the human heart, and one, perhaps, that, when duly examined, is more calculated to call forth feelings of sincere commiseration than of anger or indignation.

For the last twenty years some person professing to have a thorough knowledge of the events of 1798 and 1803, sometimes signing his communications in cipher, sometimes taking the liberty of *borrowing* the name of "Barney Duggan," have been correspondents of Major Sirr, up to the time of the decease of that energetic officer, and since that melancholy event, perhaps may still be the correspondent and the agent, of some of his successors in the inferior line of ribbon-men discoverers. To the uninitiated in state secrets

they could take. The last of the yeomen assailants, who is still living in Monasterevan, and whom they call Ned Cooper, received a blow of a stone from this intrepid Kildare man, in the hip, and by its effects limps and walks lame to this day. At length a dragoon, being commanded by a sanguinary officer to cut him down, the poor countryman, after all his fatigue and fighting, received a sabre wound on the neck, as he scrambled over a ditch, and fell as dead: this man still lives. N.B. Mr. Harrington, one of Bagot's corps, was eye-witness to the whole of this almost incredible scene."

it may be necessary to state, that the heirs and executors of Major Sirr, from a laudable anxiety for the pecuniary perpetuation of his fame, disposed, by public auction, of certain books of original letters from the Spies and Informers of 1798 and 1803, and of later years, addressed to him. Some volumes of those books were purchased by the Trustees of the Library of Trinity College, and now form a portion, and not the least valuable portion, of the MS. collection of that noble institution. Considerable care is taken that the books in question fall into no improper hands—to the learned Doctor the merit is due, in a great measure, of keeping those volumes of “sealed books,” which the eyes only of the initiated of “the right sort” may have the gratification of beholding. Nevertheless “the sacred barley” of Major Sirr’s Eleusinian Mysteries has been tasted by one who has said, “Koom ambos,” though he cannot say, “it is finished,” and lo, and behold, a few of the fruits of “the holy basket,” of the letters of the spies and informers, under the auspices and tender care of the immaculate Town-Major, Henry Charles Sirr, in *reference* to the subject of the preceding pages.\*

FROM MAJOR SIRR’S PAPERS.†

(*Memorandum of the Major’s.*)

“Wylde and Mahon (and with them M’Mahon) have been occasionally concealed at Mahon’s father’s, at Greenhills, at Frayne’s, near Rathcoffy.

“At Quigley’s—at an alehouse, kept by a widow, probably Costello, at the Cock-bridge—and at the jailer’s, at Philipstown, who is married to Wilde’s sister—his name Morrow.”

\* Remaining portion of those documents will be found in the Appendix.

† This must have been written about December, 1803.

## LETTER FROM COLONEL LONGFIELD TO THE MAJOR.

*“ December 17, 1803.*

“ DEAR SIR—In consequence of your information I searched the jail of Philipstown on Friday, and also another house in the town, where I thought it likely that Wylde and Mahon might be concealed, but did not meet them there. I then thought it probable that they might be in a house at Ballycommon, within two miles of Philipstown, which the jailer of Philipstown had lately taken. On consulting Captain Dodgson, 4th Dragoon Guards, and Lieutenant Shillock, of my yeoman troop, we thought the most likely way of taking them would be by surprize, and, in consequence, we went a little after eleven o'clock, A. M. Just as we got there the doors were shut on us, and I sent off Lieutenant Sherlock for a detachment of the yeomen; Captain Dodgson and I determining to watch the house till the guard came up, and, in consequence, took post on the flank of the house, whence we were immediately obliged to retire, the house having a parapet wall all around it; the persons within threw down stones and flags on us, and, on our retiring from the house, we saw two men looking over the parapet-wall, one with a blunderbuss, the other with pistols, or other arms—a shot at Captain Dodgson, (of the 7th Dragoons,) which unfortunately killed him; two more were fired at me, by one of which I was slightly wounded. Captain Dodgson fired one shot, and I fired three, but, I am sorry to say, without effect; and by the captain's unfortunate death, and my wound, the villains made their escape. The jailer of Philipstown, and wife, are in confinement.....

“ The house the villains were in is an uncommon strong one, and I understand since, that a report was in the county that some deserters harboured there, put them on their guard, and that being the case, nothing but cannon could dislodge them. They left

behind them in the house a pound of powder, and near six pounds of balls. I had parties of military out immediately after, but the bogs being so close to the house, and so extensive, they have hitherto eluded our march; though I am still in hopes they may be taken, as I think they have not left the country; they took their arms with them. Major Morris has the yeomanry still out, in every direction, in search of them.

“ I remain, dear Sir,

“ Yours, most faithfully,

“ JOHN LONGFIELD.”

LETTER, SIGNED JOHN WOLFE, TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ *April 3, 1804.*

“ Hoping the Major will try to get the reward which was offered for the taking of Wylde and Mahon, for the woman who gave the information, on which they would have succeeded in capturing them but for the mismanagement of Drury.”

From documents of the same authority as those of the Secret Money Service, published in the first series of this work, I give the following details of the statement of one of the informers of 1803, taken from the book of the Kildare Magistrates' proceedings in that year :—

“ William Sheridan, M. Quigley, and the two Barretts\* set off this day-fortnight, and went to the county Galway, to the Barrett's father, who lives within ten miles of Galway, on Mr. Blake's estate.

“ Quigley is to write in a week from thence to his mother, stating where he is. The letter to be directed to old Paddy —, of Rathcoffy, and is to be written so as not to be understood by any person

\* This is a mistake, the name of Quigley's two companions was Parrott.—R. R. M.

except the friends of Quigley. They are working there as labourers, and went with hooks as spalpeens. Quigley goes by the name of Graham.

“Frayne says there are five men now at Oberstown within a mile of Naas, their names are Wylde, Mahon, M'Mahon, Stafford, and Edward Power. Frayne says there are five stones of ball-cartridges, two firelocks, two blunderbusses, and a great number of pistols, concealed in a fallow field in Rathcoffy, the corner field where three roads meet, opposite Quigley's gardens, and five suits of green uniform, with lace and epaulets, in the demesne of Rathcoffy.”

#### CHAPTER IV.

THE following particulars, relative to the battle of Oulard Hill, and some of the events that followed the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill, were communicated by a person who was present at it. A person whose veracity is vouched for by my informant, Mr. Luke Cullen, of Clondalkin :—

“A publican, named William Lacy, residing then two miles beyond Oulard Hill, told me that on the night of the 27th of May, '98, and several preceding nights, that his wife and children lay out of doors, in the hedges, as also most of the people in their neighbourhood; he stopped within doors to take care of his property.

“In the dead of night he heard a horseman going in the direction of Wexford, he arose, and heard him crying out, as he passed, ‘get up, get up, and fight, or you will be burned or butchered in your beds, for the country is all in a blaze around ye; we have fought two battles to-night, and gained them.’ (The latter allusion was to the events which had followed the attacks on Father John Murphy's house and chapel, at Boulavogue, which had been burned that night, and to a skirmish with the cavalry, at a village

called the Harrow.) Lacy left his house, for the purpose of getting further intelligence from the horseman, and followed him for about a mile, when he found the cavalry were drawn up at Mr. Edward Fitzgerald's gate. When the rebel horseman galloped up the road, strange to say, they drew aside, and let him pass. Lacy managed to get over the ditch, and escaped; but though he had only an outside coat and shoes on, he did not return home until after the battle, when he found his mother, who was old, and nearly blind, and had come from her own home to see what was the matter, stooping down over the dead body of a drummer of the North Cork militia, and, shaking him by the foot, saying, 'get up, my poor fellow, for if you stay here till the boys come down the hill, they will kill you;' the dust which covered the body, and the defect in her sight, prevented her perceiving that he was dead; the spot is called Gabie's Cross. The drummer, it appeared, was on his way to Oulard Hill, when he got drunk in Ballynamonabegg, where Mr. Edward Turner had treated the soldiers with whiskey and ale, at Mr. Darby Kavanagh's, a respectable general shopkeeper in that village. The drummer had reached Gabie's Cross, and, perceiving two young women in the act of running to a lonely house, he pursued them to the door. Two of the people who were in pursuit of the fugitive soldiers from Oulard, about a quarter of a mile distant, hearing the screams of the women, ran up, and one of them struck him dead with a shovel; I knew the man. Lacy took the drum, and went on, beating it, to meet the victorious party, that he might appear to have been active in the affair.

"When the troops came within a mile of the battle field, the people had a perfect view of it, the road being very high, and also of their movements and numbers, the field inclining towards the south. As the army descended the hollow, the greater part of the North Cork Militia took off their shoes, and left them in a cabin, (the owner and family of which I



knew,) situated on the road side, that they might the more easily pursue the insurgents; it was about sixty perches from the spot, when Mr. Edward Turner set fire to the place, for which act chiefly he lost his life on Wexford bridge. In the mean time a considerable number of the insurgents had nearly attained the summit of the hill, when perceiving themselves in danger of being attacked by the cavalry, they quit the road, and ranged themselves along a ditch, where they were partly lost to the view of the army that was then ascending, when the soldiers in an instant dashed over the ditch, and the first that crossed received a thrust of a pike through his clothes, from a man named Pendergast, who thinking it was through his body, said, 'I have you on my spit.' 'No,' said the soldier, drawing his bayonet, 'but I have you on mine;' when a man, named Malone, stabbed the soldier in the face with a dung fork. The conflict instantly became general, awfully sudden, and the carnage dreadful, the soldiers rushing down the hill kept firing over their shoulders, the insurgents knocking them down with various weapons as they came on, some with stones. The hill afforded them a plentiful supply of the latter, most of the troops were despatched with pikes; some of the soldiers cried out 'We are as good Catholics as you.'

"The brutality of the soldiery, in pursuit of the rebels, on their retreat from Vinegar Hill, the 21st of June, 1798, was unparalleled. Several women, girls, and young children, were concealed in a ditch covered with furze; a severely wounded insurgent had accidentally got over the ditch unperceived by the women, and lay unperceived near the place where they were hiding, when a soldier broke through the furze, directly over the spot where the females were concealed, and proceeded to acts of scandalous indecency with one of the young females in the presence of them all; the mother of the girl, who was by her side, struggled with the miscreant, and supplicated him to spare her child, her supplication was in vain, the villain was in

the act of accomplishing his purpose, when the insurgent crept from out the furze, and shot the soldier dead. I have heard an eye witness to the fact mention this repeatedly, but with some caution, fearing it might be injurious to the characters of the parties."

There is an article under the head of "*Filial Affection*" in one of Coxe's Magazines, but I forget the year and month; as far as Coxe's report goes it is correct, and it would be difficult to produce a stronger instance of *filial affection*, and butchery, powerful and combinative resistance, than that displayed in the case of Michael Neal, of New Castle, in the county of Wicklow; but here is one of fraternal affection which could hardly be exceeded, the facts of which are of unquestionable authenticity. The scene of this atrocity, which called forth the heroism I refer to, was the market-house of Newtown Mount Kennedy, in the year 1798.

"A young man, named Bouen, of Tinoran, near Baltinglass, having being apprehended along with a brother of his, of eighteen years of age, efforts were made to extort a confession from the younger brother, but on his declining, by his brother's advice, to comply with the wishes of the party, they ordered a considerable number of lashes to be inflicted on both brothers. The elder one fearing the youth and tenderness of his brother would not be able to support the punishment, when he had received the number appointed to be given him, said he would undergo the punishment of his brother; when they tied him up again and inflicted on him the number intended for his brother. When this was done they tied up the younger brother, gave him the number of lashes which had been first ordered, but he bore the punishment as the brother had done, and not one word of confession could be extorted from either."\*

\* We have lyrics in our literature, and obelisks, and columns in our cities, devoted to the perpetuation of the fame of heroes and of conquerors, what heroism or conquest over self is more deserving of the tribute of our praise.

“ It was generally believed in Wexford, that a plot had been formed to get all the mounted yeomen to assemble on parade, in order to cause the Roman Catholics to lay down their arms, and when they were disarmed to shoot them.” (See Mr. E. Hays’ History, page 239.)

“ Mr. Timothy Whealan, a young gentleman of a respectable farmer’s family, who was held in great esteem by the sporting characters in the country, on account of his pre-eminence in feats of horsemanship, was going at a very early hour to parade on Whit-Sunday morning, and near the place of parade was privately told by a young gentleman, a Protestant, and of the same corps of cavalry, and a sporting character himself likewise, of the plot that was laid, and advised him to get away as quickly as possible. Mr. Whealan turned round and rode off instantly, crossing various roads, in order to inform his Catholic companions of their danger, as the residences of a number of them were in the direction of his own. The violence of his subsequent conduct may be traced to this origin, on the very same day he shot, (in the presence of a very near relative of mine, and who was then standing by,) a gentleman named Darcy Howlin, who had rendered himself very obnoxious to the people, and had his house well fortified, I think this occurred immediately after the battle of Oulard Hill; Mr. Howlin’s house was also burnt.”

The following account of events, connected with the defeat of the people at Tara, I received from James Hope :—

“ I had happened to work for some time near Ratoath, after my escape from the north, where I learned the following particulars of some transactions of 1798. About the middle of May the Rea Fencibles left Belfast for Dublin, their route was west of the then mail-coach road, and a party of the County Dublin, and some of the Meath men, stopped the mail coach near Turvy Hill, it being the signal for a general movement, they next took a small barrack at

Westfieldstown, where some of the Fermanagh militia were stationed, and marched towards Ratoath; on their way, one Wallace, a tinker, shot two or three men *who were said, or suspected to be, Orangemen*. A body of Kildare men had gone that morning to Dunboyne to surprize the advanced guard of the Rea Fencibles, which had stopped there the night before, and fled on their approach, leaving their baggage in the street; another small party of the Reas came through Ratoath, and, finding no young men in the village, plundered and set it on fire, taking what old men they could find, and placing them in a line, about nine or ten in number, they took a rope, and knotting it round their wrists, tied the whole line on the one rope, and in that manner drove them before them, as they said for Dublin, to have them hanged or shot.

“ They were joined by a corps of yeomen cavalry, and passing near Kildare they observed a man leaping a ditch into the corner of a field, the horsemen gave chase, and coming up to him he proved to be one Moran, a blacksmith, who had been with the party going to Dunboyne, but had deserted on the way, and was making towards his home, but unfortunately had not thrown away his pike, he was instantly brought over to the road and shot, the prisoners, old and infirm, and confined as they were, tumbled down in his blood until their rags were soaked in it, and then driven on the road under every insult and threat, to ruin their wives and daughters, hang their priests, &c.; but they had nearly done their part of the work, for at a corner of the road, near Clonee, they were met by the country lads, returning from Dunboyne, and here, at the first shot that was fired, the yeomen fled, leaving the Highlanders to the bullet and pike, which soon decided their fate, they all fell except one, and the prisoners who had observed their number, found that one was short when counting the dead,—one of the party had seen him hiding, and when the rest were beginning to search, he told them that he knew where he was, but would not tell them

unless they would give him his life, and in that case he would make him a prisoner, otherwise he would certainly escape, for search was useless. On granting his request, he brought him from his hiding place, and when the soldier knew to whom he owed his life, he kept by his deliverer until they were afterwards separated at Tara.

“ Having settled with the Highlanders for burning their houses, they marched homeward to see their ruins, and were joined by the Malahoo and Ballybagal men, who had attacked the neighbouring barrack, they were commanded by Captain West, and the Ratoath men, by Captain Gilshine. The clerk of the church hearing that Wallace, the tinker, was in search of him, hid himself on an old wall covered with ivy. Gilshine met Wallace, and told him if he killed any more men in the manner he was reported to have done, he would blow out his brains, and that if he knew any one to hurt the clerk he would hang them on the moment. Wallace made no reply, but Gilshine kept his eye on him until they left the village for Tara. When they had gone a little way out of town, Wallace said to one of his comrades, ‘ Let us go back and kill Birch the clerk, now that Gilshine is not here to save him.’ While he spoke Gilshine was at his back, and, as he turned to go, he shot him dead with a blunderbuss. ‘ Now,’ said he, ‘ let me see who dare commit murder where I command, and that will be their fate. They then marched to Counsellor O’Gorman’s, where a party of military from Dublin appeared, but dare not attack them without reinforcements, and, after refreshing themselves, marched next morning for Tara. Reinforcements having arrived to the military, from Dublin, they advanced to O’Gorman’s, where a few unfortunate wretches lay drunk, and were put to death. The main body of the Rea Fencibles had arrived at Dunshaughlin, but their rout being for Dublin, they would have proceeded on their march but for Lord Fingall, who, learning that the whole country would move for Tara with all haste,

and that numerous parties were out foraging, took the responsibility of changing the route of the Fencibles on himself, and forced the colonel to march his men to Tara; the hill is not steep at the north-east side, along which the Navan road passes, and the Highlanders advanced along the road with two field pieces, and Lord Fingall's cavalry they marched on the right of the country line, and when their front came parallel to it, Gilshine advanced single, and no shots being fired on either side, although near each other, he inquired if they came as friends or foes, he received no answer, he discharged his blunderbuss into their ranks, a general discharge from both sides was the consequence. And Fingall's cavalry ran at the first fire, but the Highlanders advanced, and gained the top of the hill on the country to the left, and brought their field pieces to bear with considerable effect, and a fatal rout down the south-west side of the hill soon ensued. The Highland prisoner, who had all this time fought by the side of the man who formerly saved his life, desired him to fly—'But for me,' said he, 'I expect no mercy, having been seen among you.' 'I will give another chance yet,' said the countryman, (pointing to a large stone wall that ran along the hill, to which the military had not advanced,) 'go over that wall and stop until I come; and then running to a car that stood loaded with provisions, he cut a rope off it, and tied the prisoner neck and heels, and then escaped safe off. The prisoner, being afterwards out with a party scouring the country, came into a field where his former deliverer was at work, and, as soon as he saw him, swore an oath—'This is one of them;' but when he caught his eye he was not afraid, but called him a liar at once, and said if he would be allowed time, he could produce proof that he never left home. After arguing a while on both sides very confidently, the serjeant asked the soldier if he could swear to him. 'I wad na just like to do that either, though he's d——d like; he's very like ane I saw at the hill.' I never learned that the

soldier identified any one. Gilshine was wounded at Tara ; got home, and died of his wounds."

SOME PARTICULARS OF A FLIGHT AFTER THE BATTLE  
OF TARA.

The following Narrative of Thomas Keirnan, of Sherlockstown, county Meath, was given to me by him, at my request, knowing the veracity of the man, and the conformity of his statements with the most credible accounts of the same circumstances :—

"It was on Whitsun-Saturday, 1798, my brother Matthew, and myself, did all that we could to have every thing done about the house and mill, for we both lived at that time with my father, and had Sherlockstown Mills, within two miles of Trim. The fate of the country was to be decided on the Monday following at Tara Hill. We had got word on Friday that the boys were gathering on the hill. Wicklow and Wexford were to be there on Saturday, together with Kildare and the off parts of Longford, Westmeath and Louth ; the near parts of the counties of Dublin and Meath were not to rise until Sunday night. As I said before we had all our work done ; Matthew stepped round by the Castle, where we had some bread and butter laid for us to fetch, whilst I remained about the mill and the house, watching an opportunity of the old people to steal away our arms and ammunition ; this I soon effected by my father going into the garden. I then took both the guns and powder out of the kiln and went down by the Boyne side, then up the hill, and met my brother at the back of the Castle. It was only then we began to be sensible of the danger that we had to go through. We, however, thought that no risk was too great for our country.

"We then offered up a prayer to God, divided our bread, loaded our guns, and crossed the country for Tara Hill. We soon arrived at the camp, all there were busy cooking and preparing tents to sleep in ; we walked about for some short time ; at length we saw

some bustle at the east end of the camp, we soon learned that it was a seizure that was made on some Dublin carmen that were carrying whiskey to Killeshandra. Immediately after we saw several puncheons rolled on to the green, they were set on the one end and the other was knocked out. In a short time the boys began to carry away the whiskey in cans, pitchers, noggins, and all manner of vessels. Although I was the oldest, Matthew gave me a tap of the elbow and a nod of his head: we went to the other side. 'I think there is treachery,' said Matthew to me, 'connected with sending whiskey that bye-road to Killeshandra.' While consulting on this point we were looking down towards Navan—in the hollow we espied some troops of yeomen cavalry, we then surveyed the country beneath us, and we discovered troops in all directions; we would not fear them if our men had been sober, but we had fear for the men who paid their respects to the whiskey puncheons.

"Our leaders were soon apprized of the approach of the King's forces. They immediately formed the men into lines, I should say immediately they tried to do so, but the whiskey made them so ungovernable that the lines could not be formed. This state of confusion was kept up until our enemy opened their fire on us; their fire was met manfully by a handful who did great execution on them—our fire was well directed. I remember the first man that fell was a drummer, I know not to what corps he belonged. The drunken men soon made a rally, but this was to us a fatal charge, because they ran like mad men with pike in hand and so furious through our lines that they actually ran their pikes into their own friends; this threw us into disorder and there was no way of restoring order. Look at our position which way we would there was nothing but confusion and despair—the drunken men could do nothing but throw us into disorder.

"We were attacked two days before we expected, the great strength that we relied on coming in,



“ It was in this state of our affairs that my brother Matthew said to me—Tom, it is high time that we should look to ourselves : what can we expect from the assistance of men that are worse than helpless with drink. It is madness to stay, see how they are cut down and, by their own disorderly conduct, we cannot render them any relief. At this moment a heavy fire of grape was opened on us from the cannon of the enemy ; this increased the disorder ; there was nothing but confusion in the camp, and all this was occasioned by our men getting drunk.

“ There was nothing now but flight for us—this I and my brother immediately resolved on. We set off together, resolved to live or die in each other’s company, and to sell our lives as dear as possible ; we had not gone far before we were obliged to change our course, for several troops of yeomanry cavalry lay right before us ; we went more to the right and intended, if possible, to make Bective. As soon as we changed our course a company of cavalry started after us ; we immediately made for the highest hedges and most difficult ditches, in this way we held on our course for some time ; we soon perceived that most of our pursuers were thrown out, they could not follow us, there were, however, two troopers that we could not throw off, they crossed all the fences that we led them to ; we were afraid to fire on them lest it should stir up the rage of the others that were still in view. At one time I proposed to Matthew to hide our guns in a ditch—this he would not hear of ; he said they would yet stand our friend ; we continued to lead the troopers and they continued to follow, they were still gaining on us, we succeeded, with great exertions, to lead them some miles from the camp. At length we perceived ourselves in great peril from our pursuers, so close were they that the four of us were in the same field at the same time, but we always took care to be convenient to a good hedge and as soon as they came into the field that we were in we crossed the hedge and still contrived to keep it between us and

them. With these stratagems, and uncommon exertions, we led them convenient to the Boyne—right before Bathnally—our difficulties were still on the increase, we first thought of crossing the river, but our pursuers were too near, they could shoot us in the water, for at this time we were all four at the one ditch and the field was too large to cross it, so we were obliged, whenever the troopers came on our side of the hedge, to cross it again. At the end of one of these hedges lay the high road from Sherlockstown to Bective, a car way ran along the back of it, we gained the road at last. This, said he, is the spot on which to try our fate with these two soldiers Tom; you load the guns for me and I will try my hand on them—stand in shelter of the pen, Matthew went on his one knee and watched their movements; immediately they crossed the hedge and on to the car way, he took his aim—down drops the first man. I then gave my gun to him, but the other man turned to fly from us, I told Matthew to let him go, but I was too late—he fired and the other fell! We then made for the Boyne, we did so because if we were followed we could cross the river and baffle pursuit in the woods of Rathnally; we stole along the banks until we came home, and succeeded so far as to get to the back of the garden unobserved, although there was a troop of horse stationed at the door of the unfortunate Patrick Hart. Our mill was drove by a small tributary stream, that emptied itself into the Boyne, that led the water to our mill, and ran along the back of our garden, some large willows grew along the stream and dipped their branches into its course; we got into the garden to look about us, for we dare not go into the house least there should be soldiers in it; we had seen several troops of cavalry in different directions, some of them parading about the castle and a large body coming from the direction of Trim; we agreed to hide ourselves, and we concluded that our safest retreat would be the mill-race among the boughs of the sally trees, the shade of the trees gave a jet

colour to the water, Matthew slipt softly into the stream, and caught hold of the boughs, and hid his face in the water ; I could not see him. At this moment I saw a troop of cavalry riding down to our mill ; I next hid myself in the same way, and had not been long there when the cavalry passed close to the water's edge. The soldiers dismounted, searched the house, mill, kiln, stables, cowhouse, garden, and all about, and then mounted again, and rode past us.

" We remained in our hiding places for a long time ; at length I heard my sister crying in the garden. I peeped up through the hedge, and told her that we were safe, and she ran in to tell the old people.

" The light of heaven to my mother, she soon came out to see us, and brought us two butter-cakes, and my sister brought us some milk ; they kept watch for us while we took the refreshment. In a short time after, all the soldiers galloped off to Manalvy, for a large party of the boys, well armed, had fixed themselves in the big house of Manalvy. We then came out of our hiding place, changed our clothes, and went into the house.

" The above is a brief sketch of the escape of myself and my brother Matthew from Tara Hill, in 1798.

*(Signed)*

" THOMAS KEIRNAN."





Portrait of the artist, by the artist, 1800.



This portrait is in the Hibernian Magazine of 1800, corrected by a friend of Rousseau's.

*Portrait of Rousseau*

MEMOIR  
OF  
THOMAS RUSSELL.

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“He was a man, setting his fate aside, of comely virtues.”  
*Timon of Athens.*—Act 3, Sc. 5.

CHAPTER I.

Two brief notices of the life of Thomas Russell have been given to the public, one in the *Ulster Magazine*, of January, 1830, and another in *Frazer's Magazine*, of November, 1836. The materials for the former were given to the editor of the journal, Mr. Charles Teeling, by Miss Mary M'Cracken, of Belfast, the only surviving sister of Henry Joy M'Cracken, the faithful and devoted friend of Thomas Russell. Mr. Teeling committed these materials to the care of a gentleman connected with the *Northern Press*, Mr. James Morgan, the writer of the notice of Russell's life, in the *Ulster Magazine*. This account is tolerably accurate, as far as it goes; but from some cause, with which the friends of Russell are unacquainted, the most valuable portion of the materials were not made use of. Altogether the account is too meagre to give a sufficient insight into his character. To

Miss M'Cracken, and the surviving friends of Russell, I am chiefly indebted for the information given in the following memoir; and to a relative of Russell's for the corrections of such errors as have crept into the account given in the above mentioned periodicals. The notice to which I have referred in *Frazer's Magazine*, was written by Mr. M'Skimmin, a weaver, of Carrickfergus, and revised for publication by a gentleman of high standing in literature, in London, who, I am convinced, would have lent no hand to its publication, had he known the mis-statements and mis-representations which pervade that article. M'Skimmin was a man of very remarkable attainments for his situation in life; a man, to use the words of Locke, of "strong, sound, round about common sense," and in his "history of Carrickfergus," displayed considerable research and ability.

When I was about collecting the materials for these Memoirs of the principal Northern Leaders, I was induced to make a journey expressly to Carrickfergus, to see this man, with a view of obtaining information from him on a subject to which it was known he had devoted a great portion of time and attention. My interview with him did not realize all I had heard of his extensive information on matters relating to the Northern movement; I observed, with regret, that the political atmosphere in which he lived, had given a very strong bias to his opinions, and had disposed him to turn his attention chiefly, indeed I might say wholly, to the faults and follies of the unfortunate Northern leaders of the United Irishmen, and to withdraw his consideration from the qualities of another kind, for which many of them were remarkable. The crimes of their opponent seemed to have been lost sight of in his inquiries, while individual acts of atrocity, committed by the subordinate actors in the rebellion, were looked upon by him as part and parcel of an organized system of barbarity, devised by the Executive of the United Irish Society in Dublin, and carried into effect by the secret orders of the Northern leaders.

He maintained that assassination was recognised by them, and that a committee, duly appointed by the Executive for this horrid purpose, acted in Belfast, with the sanction and with the instructions of the Northern leaders, and, likewise, of the Leinster Executive, two of whose members he named as instigators of, and parties to a regularly organized system of assassination; and when my readers are informed, that *Thomas Addis Emmet* was one of those members named by M'Skimmin, it will be unnecessary for me to take much trouble to rebut the gross mis-statements of this man. He also asserted, that this murderous committee had its regular organ established in Belfast; that the infamous paper, called "*The Union Star*," which advocated assassination, was printed, and disseminated by the orders of the committee in Belfast. This idea was so rooted in the mind of M'Skimmin, that I found it impossible to remove it. The fact of that paper being printed in Dublin, by Cox, and being disowned and reprobated by every member of the Executive, he strenuously denied; the erroneous impression remained on his mind, and it had become a fixed and predominant idea, which seemed to haunt his imagination. The impression made on my mind was, that at some period he had been apprehensive of personal violence at the hands of the United Irishmen, and that to some such cause might be attributed the rancour with which he spoke of their leaders, and recurred to his favourite topic, in connection with their name, an organized system of assassination, which had no existence, except in his imagination.

With these sentiments, it is not to be supposed that Mr. M'Skimmin was qualified to do justice to the character of one of the earliest founders, and most active leaders of the United Irish system—Thomas Russell.

The following is a copy of a letter from M'Skimmin to James Hope, of Belfast, written at the end of November, or beginning of December, 1836:—

"SIR,—I this day received a short note from you,



and really regret to find, that you are displeased by the accounts you have heard, of extracts given from my papers, as copied into the '*Ulster Times*.'

"Your friend, who brought me your note, says, you had supposed that the parts deemed improper, were by the editor of '*Frazer's Magazine*,' but this is not so; the alterations made, were of no moment or consequence, one way or other.

"However, if errors or mistakes are made, or facts, in any instance, *too high coloured*, the blame, if any, cannot possibly fall on you. The article was, indeed, collected from many sources, and from, at least, two parties, besides different public papers, and, even manuscripts, of the day; in fact, comparatively little was at any time drawn from you; but that from you was interesting, in *the way of connection*. You will also, doubtless, recollect, that I at once informed you, candidly, that I was certain that I could not view the affair of 1803, as you did. I never, in my life, made a secret of any of my opinions, much less to you—one, whom, though I was well aware that in many things we differed so very materially, yet whom I deemed equally candid. As to any mention of names, I do assure you, that there is not one mentioned from you, except the old worthless Clerk of Knockbracken. Not a little of my information is also drawn from letters, viz.—from Enniskillen, Downpatrick, and Ballymena. Those from the two former places, and one in the original I retain, the latter, being less important to me, was destroyed. I surely cannot be blamed for making use of the information contained in those papers as I deemed fit. There is, indeed, two ways of telling a story, and, of course, I adopted one of them.

"Part of the most interesting notice of Russell, was obtained from no less a person than your son Luke; and you will, perhaps, recollect that when I mentioned the matter to you, you said, that if he had not told me, *you would* not.

"Although I do not yet see my error, in any thing

I have written, I do regret that I should have given offence to you; but I did believe that we previously knew each other well. I am truly sorry that we seem mistaken.

“On the day that I received the Magazine,\* I was in Belfast, but did not even wish to call until I would have seen how the matter would read. On Friday, or Monday, the Magazine shall be left with you; I, perhaps, may not call; but I do request that you *may*, at leisure, read the paper with candour; but do not for a moment suppose, that I ever intended to hurt any person’s feelings.

“You will remember the motto chosen—‘Truth is strange, stranger than fiction.’ You will also recollect, that at least two years ago, I did say, that I deemed the affair of 1803, highly romantic; my opinion is unchanged; but why should you be offended at an opinion?

“You make, as it were, some *dark* allusions to treachery, this hurts me not a little, and I will be glad if you will drop me a line, by post, on this interesting part of your note to me.

“I am, Sir,

“Your’s, very truly,

(Signed) “SAMUEL M’SKIMMIN.

“To James Hope, Esq.

“*Postscript.*—I begin to think that much, or, at least, not a little of that, which you may be supposed by your friends to have been telling to me, is taken from the state trials of that period; and you are well aware how little the most of people reads, or recollects, even of the events of their own time. For instance, what do the mass of mankind know even of the occurrences of their own neighbourhood? Besides, we neither can, nor do we see events in the same light, even when passing before *us*, especially on

\* The Magazine he never sent to James Hope, notwithstanding the promise.

matters connected with religion and politics,—these always, and in all ages, appear to be the greatest stumbling blocks, and where even good sense often seems as lost.”

In a letter, dated January, 1837, a friend of Russell's, a gentleman of the highest character and of very opposite political sentiments to the latter, in reference to the injurious light in which the character of T. Russell had been placed in the article called *The Secret History of the Insurrection of 1803*, stated—“that he had made an inquiry into the accuracy of the statements respecting Russell, and, through the kindness of several individuals, he had recovered various documents of his, and others relating to him, which, with many original papers previously in his possession, enabled him to say that the entire article in question was far from being correct or consistent with truth, and, as far as regarded Russell, he was prepared to prove, that it was a compilation containing very gross mis-statements.” Hope, in reference to M'Skimmin's article, says—“The account of the insurrection of 1803, called ‘its secret history,’ is the labour of a man suspected by the people in 1798, who fled from his home to the Castle of Carrickfergus, where he served in a corps of invalids (one of Serjeant Lee's companions). In this account a few facts are interlarded with much fiction, truth has been suppressed where it was not palatable, and, altogether, the article is a malicious fabrication, and I declare it a total mis-representation of the facts communicated by me, and calculated to lead the future historian astray.” So much for the notice of Russell in M'Skimmin's statement and the degree of credit to be attached to it.

Thomas Russell was born at Betsborough, Dunmahane, in the parish of Kilshanick, county Cork, the 21st of November, 1767; he was called Thomas after Thomas Palliser, Esq., a gentleman of property in the county, the intimate friend of his father. The family originally came from Normandy and settled in the

neighbourhood of Taunton, in Somerset, from whence, in the times of the trouble in England, some of the members went to Ireland, and became fixed residents near the city of Kilkenny.

His father, John Russell, was educated at the College at Kilkenny; he was intended for the Church, and was an excellent classical scholar; some disturbance occurred whilst he was at College, in consequence of certain students having got possession of some books prohibited by the rules of the College, acts of insubordination followed, and John Russell was applied to by the Provost to give information on the subject, and was offered a Church living if he would do so. He refused, soon after left the College, and entered the army. He saw a great deal of service, he was at the battle of Dettingen, had been noticed by George the Second, and shortly afterwards obtained a company in the Infantry; he was in the memorable engagement of Fontenoy, where his company of grenadiers was nearly cut to pieces; his regiment, with others which had served in the low countries, were recalled in 1745, and sent to Scotland to join the Duke of Cumberland; his regiment reached head-quarters just after the battle of Culloden. In an old *Gazette*, of 1758, I find the names of Wager and John Russell appointed to the 83rd Regiment, and of Joseph Sirr (the father of the well-known Town-Major) promoted to a Captaincy in the same regiment. The John Russell named in the *Gazette* I presume was the Russell of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In 1761 and 2, he served in Portugal, in the Foreign Auxiliary force, under the command of the Count de Lippe Schomberg. He was attached to the staff of the latter, having been selected, on account of his acquirements, to act as interpreter to his General.

On Captain Russell's return to Ireland he was placed in a high situation in the Royal Hospital, at Kilmalmainham—there he died at a very advanced age, and was buried in December, 1792. It has been stated that he had been Governor of the Royal Hos-

pital, but having carefully examined the list of names of governors, masters, and their deputies from 1760 to 1792, I have not been able to find the name of Captain Russell amongst those of the officers in question; he married a lady from Upper Ormond, of the name of O'Kennedy, and had several children, of whom Thomas Russell was the youngest. Mrs. Russell died the 8th of April, 1786, and was buried at the Royal Hospital. Four of Captain Russell's children survived him, three sons and a daughter, Thomas, Ambrose, John, and Margaret. Thomas Russell was entirely educated by his father, and, being intended for the Church, was early initiated in the Greek and Latin languages, and well grounded in Mathematics. Few young men, even with the advantage of a University education, could enter on the world better informed, and better trained than Thos. Russell. In 1782 he went out as a volunteer to India, at the early age of fifteen, with one of his brothers, Captain Ambrose Russell of the 52nd regiment, an officer who had received the approbation of King George the Third for his gallant conduct at the storming of Fort Montgomery, in the American war, and who had the honour of being told by his Sovereign—"that his welfare would be attended to by him."\* Thomas Russell, for his conduct in the field, was commended by Sir John Burgoyne for a commission in his brother Ambrose's regiment. Part of the regiment was ordered to Pondicherry, he accompanied it, and acted as Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Barry; here, in some engagement, the Colonel was wounded, and Thomas Russell brought him off the field. He returned, with the regiment, to Madras, and afterwards was appointed to one of the newly raised regiments. These regiments were subsequently reduced, and an order was issued for all officers on half-pay to return to Europe. Thomas Russell

\* Ambrose Russell was born in Kilkenny, in 1756, and died in India, in 1798.

quitted India after five years service. His return to England has been ascribed, by a relative, Mr. H——, to a cause of a different kind to that of the reduction of his regiment—to the disgust which the service inspired him with, after witnessing the unjust and rapacious conduct pursued by the authorities in the case of two native women of exalted rank in the country, which had been the scene of his late services. These services had made him favourably known to Sir John Burgoyne, to Lord Cornwallis, and also to the Honourable Colonel Knox. His intimacy with the latter in India, was renewed in his own country, and led to his acquaintance with the Northland family. On his return to Europe he intended to enter the Church, and pursued his studies for that purpose, and even went to the Isle of Man to be ordained; it seems that some rules and regulations had to be complied with, previous to ordination, which rendered it necessary for him to return to Ireland. Soon after his return, however, his purpose was abandoned, he was appointed to the 64th regiment by Sir John Irwin, whose acquaintance he had casually made, it is said, in the county of Fermanagh. Russell was a man of the most pre-possessing appearance, courteous manners, and gentleman-like address, and wherever he went he seemed to have had the power, in a degree that cannot be exaggerated, of winning confidence and attaching estimable people to him.

About this period he made the acquaintance of a young lady from Newry, Miss Elizabeth Goddard, who was on a visit in Belfast, at the house of Narcissus Batt, one of the leading liberal politicians of the town in his day.

Russell, in his diary of this period, constantly speaks of the beautiful "Bess Goddard" in terms of the most impassioned admiration, and ardent affection. Scraps of verses, some of them full of poetry, as well as passion, are intermingled with his notices of his meetings with her, and all are devoted to the celebration of her beauty, or to the expression of the

hopes and fears of a man, to use an unromantic expression, "who was head over ears in love." He was naturally reserved and retiring in his habits, of great mildness and suavity of manner, but, with all, serious in his look, and stately in his carriage; his republicanism, (if he possessed any at the period,) was in his feelings; his features were more expressive of composure and gentleness of disposition, than of the fervour and enthusiasm of one who wooed "the mountain nymph, sweet Liberty."

In the sketch of Russell's life, published in the *Ulster Magazine*, there is an admirable description of his address and personal appearance, for which the writer was probably indebted to the faithful recollection of the intimate friend of Russell, the sister of Henry Joy M'Cracken:—

"A model of manly beauty, he was one of those favoured individuals whom one cannot pass in the street without being guilty of the rudeness of staring in the face while passing, and turning round to look at the receding figure. Though more than six feet high, his majestic stature was scarcely observed owing to the exquisite symmetry of his form. Martial in his gait and demeanour, his appearance was not altogether that of a soldier. His dark and steady eye, compressed lip, and somewhat haughty bearing, were occasionally strongly indicative of the camp; but in general, the classic contour of his finely formed head, the expression of almost infantine sweetness which characterized his smile, and the benevolence that beamed in his fine countenance, seemed to mark him out as one, who was destined to be the ornament, grace, and blessing of private life. His voice was deep-toned and melodious; and though his conversational powers were not of the first order, yet, when roused to enthusiasm, he was sometimes more than eloquent. His manners were those of the finished gentleman, combined with that native grace, which nothing but superiority of intellect can give. There was a reserved, and somewhat haughty, stateliness in

his mien, which, to those who did not know him, had, at first, the appearance of pride; but, as it gave way before the warmth and benevolence of his disposition, it soon became evident that the defect, if it were one, was caused by the too sensitive delicacy of a noble soul; and those who knew him, loved him the more for his reserve, and thought they saw something attractive in the very repulsiveness of his manner.

“ Besides these external advantages, the political feelings of Russell completely harmonized with those, which were then becoming popular in the province of Ulster. He was, though perfectly loyal in principle, a republican in theory, and the people of Belfast thought they were the same. He was ardently attached to the land of his birth; and sectarians as we Northerners are, we are as national in our feelings as our Southern neighbours. It is no wonder, then, that Russell soon became a decided favourite in those circles, which, in a mercantile town like Belfast, are always the most intelligent and respectable. He was also speedily admitted a member of the several clubs, which, at that period were chiefly of a political cast; and in these his theoretical principles assumed a more decided, tangible, and practical form. Every state of society, however, has its disadvantages; and pleasant as was that easy and neighbourly intercourse, which strongly characterized the period between the Volunteering and the Rebellion, it frequently made the ingenious and confiding, the dupes of the designing and the base.”

His passion for “the beautiful Bess Goddard” was a hopeless one, his diffidence, or his pride, kept him from making any explicit declaration of his sentiments, or ascertaining those in his regard, of the object of his admiration, till the information that was fatal to his hopes, at length was communicated to him by a friend of the young lady, that she was engaged to another. In 1795, she became the wife of a Mr. Kingston, of Newry.

But if the “course of true love never did run



smooth," the current in this case, as in most others, gradually regained its former smoothness. About a year after the marriage of Miss Goddard, Russell formed an attachment for Miss Simms, the sister of his friends William and Robert Simms, of Belfast. In 1803, when he visited Belfast, on his unfortunate and ill-advised mission, his companion, James Hope, says he spoke of Miss Simms in terms of sincere affection; and the impression left on Hope's mind was that Russell was strongly attached to her.

## CHAPTER II.

TONE's passion for raillery, and grave irony, as displayed in his journals, and in his references to his most intimate friends, has led to the formation of very erroneous opinions; of some of the men he speaks of under ridiculous nicknames, and whom he often taxes with defects the very opposite of their most prominent virtues and estimable qualities. In this exuberance to vivacity, Russell figures in his journals as P.P., parish priest, a profane person, swearing occasionally, frequently "very drunk," "gloriously drunk," and disorderly. But, when Tone, in France, hears of the arrest of his friend, he thus speaks of him, in allusion to the manner he had made mention of him in his journals—"My heart smites me, when I think of the levity with which I have spoken of my poor friend Russell, under the name of P.P." The fact was, Russell's well known gravity of deportment and demeanour, his strong sense of the importance and value of religion, his habitual decorum and propriety in social intercourse, were made the subject of ironical jocularity in Tone's diaries.

In Russell's own memorandum of his career, for five or six years preceding 1798, chiefly in reference to his progress in spiritual concerns, there are passages which would be utterly unintelligible to a reader unaccustomed to works in which persons strongly

impressed with the truths of religion are accustomed to speak of their lives and actions. Indeed, in the fervour of the religious zeal of such persons, truth itself is sometimes violated unconsciously, in the pictures which they draw of the depravity of human nature, as it is considered by them to be exhibited in the gravity of their own defects. Russell, in those daily memorandums, is continually deploring the little progress he is making in religion, of the futility of all his purposes to amend his faults, of his relapsing into various errors and sinful habits, of his failing to carry temperance to a due extent, of his sufferings from the assaults of the enemy, and the ills arising from the thorn in the flesh. The very record of those daily temptations, and self accusations, of transgressions hateful to the accuser, are evidences of a sense of the infirmities of human nature, and of the necessity of a reliance on divine assistance, which are even explanatory of the exaggerated tone of the imputed guilt of one certainly neither hardened, nor habitually vicious.

Russell was residing with his father, at Kilmainham, in 1789, when he made the acquaintance of a man which had a mighty influence on his future career. At this time his pursuits and tastes were entirely of a literary kind. To use his own words, a little later to a lady in Belfast, Burke's Sublime and Beautiful had more charms for him, than all the speculations of Mr. Paine on the Rights of Man. He was then a loyal subject, entertaining strong theoretical opinions of the advantages of republican institutions, united with monarchical government, and above all of the truth of the axiom, that the end of good government was the happiness of the great body of the people. This opinion, from the outset of his career to its close, seemed to be the guiding one of his politics, unmixed with selfish feelings, unalloyed with objects of ambition, entertained with sincerity, supported with singleness of purpose, and with enthusiasm that bordered on exaltation that might mislead his judgment, but could

not leave a suspicion of his integrity, or of the rectitude of his intentions. The following passage, in connection with Russell, and references to Tone's acquaintance with him, are taken from the life of the latter.—

“About this time (1789) I formed an acquaintance with my invaluable friend Russell, a circumstance which I look on as one of the most fortunate of my life. Suffice it to say, that to an excellent understanding he joins the purest principles, and the best of hearts. I wish I had ability to delineate his character, with regard to his talents and his virtues..... I think the better of myself for being an object of esteem to such a man as Russell.....

“My acquaintance with Russell commenced by an argument in the gallery of the House of Commons. He was at that time enamoured of the *Whigs*, but I knew these gentlemen a little better than he did....

During the summer of 1790, Russell was often with Tone, at his cottage in Irishtown.

“Sometimes Russell's venerable father, a veteran, nearly seventy, with the courage of a hero, the serenity of a philosopher, and the piety of a saint, used to visit our little mansion, and that day was a fête. My wife doated on the old man, and he loved her like one of his children..... These were delicious days.”\*

About this time Tone and Russell wrote to government, respecting their project of forming a military colony in the South Seas, which was favourably received; but as a convention had been recently made with Great Britain and Spain, it was no longer practicable.

In reference to Thomas Addis Emmet, Tone says:—

“His opinions and mine exactly square. In classing the men I most esteem, I would place him beside Russell at the head of the list, because, with regard to them both, the most ardent feelings of my heart

\* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 37, &c.

coincide exactly with the most severe decision of my government.

“ Russell had, on his arrival to join his regiment at Belfast, found the people so much to his taste, and in return, had rendered himself so agreeable to them, that he was speedily admitted into their confidence, and became a member of several of their clubs. This was an unusual occurrence, as Belfast officers, it may well be supposed, were no great favourites with the Republicans of Belfast.”

Russell having joined his regiment in Belfast, as Tone states, soon made the acquaintance of the leading men of liberal politics in the town. At the instance, or with the concurrence of some of them, he wrote to Tone, requesting him to prepare a declaration for the Belfast Volunteer company, which Tone accordingly did, alluding, in one passage, to the Catholic claims. But that passage was withdrawn, and the withdrawal of it set Tone “thinking more seriously than he had done on the state of Ireland.” Tone went to Belfast, in October, 1791, at Russell’s request, and was introduced by him to all the leading men of the town, and the members of the Secret Society, who regulated the political movements of the town. The first Society of United Irishmen was formed on the occasion of this visit. Russell accompanied Tone to Dublin, where they likewise established the Society.\*

Among Russell’s acquaintance in Belfast, in 1791, there was a very remarkable person, an American, of the name of Thomas Digges, who had been employed in England, in the capacity of American Agent, for the exchange of prisoners. This man carried the art of ingeniously deceiving persons of first-rate talents, and men living in the world, and well acquainted with all varieties of human character, farther, and with more success, than any impostor I have heard of. Dr. M’Donnell’s account of this man’s career in the

\* Tone’s Life, vol. i. pp. 66, 67.

North of Ireland, if published, would be a new chapter in the history of human nature. Digges was a man remarkable for his stature and portly appearance, rather past the prime of life, "living about town," in our "Irish Athens," no body knew how, or seemed to think of asking why thus living there; but every body found Digges a man of extensive information, of specious address, particularly neat in his attire, of conversational powers, that seemed to belong to a vigorous understanding, capable of separating every political subject from the sophistry that surrounded it. This accomplished swindler (for such he was) was received into the houses of all persons of note in the town; his society was courted, his opinions were received with respect, and recorded by Tone, and others, as the sentiments of a man of singular sagacity; his plausibility imposed on men of all professions and avocations,—doctors, divines, lawyers, votaries of literature, merchants, politicians of all shades of liberal opinions. As an American, the naiveté, and ultra liberalism of his downright democratic principles, was tolerated, even by those who hated Republicanism. Tone's diaries, of 1791, are full of memoranda of meetings with Digges; breakfast and dinner parties, at William Sinclair's, Henry Joy's, Dr. M'Donnell's, Samuel Neilson's, Francis Jordan's, and Thomas M'Cabe's. The very first memorandum in his diary, October the 11th, is a notice of his introduction to Digges. On the 16th, there is another memorandum, tolerably indicative of the impression made on Tone by his new friend,—“Put the plump question to Digges, relative to the possibility of Ireland's existence independant of England. His opinion decidedly for independance. England would not risk a contest, the immediate consequence of which would be the destruction of her funds. Ireland supplies her with what, in case of a war, she could not possibly do without—as seamen and provisions. France would, most probably, assist, from the pride of giving freedom to one kingdom more; so would all the enemies of England.

Nothing to be done, until the religious sects here are united, and engaged in a foreign war. If Ireland were free, and well governed, being, that she is, unincumbered with debt, she would, in arts, commerce, and manufactures, spring up like an air balloon, and leave England behind her, at an immense distance. There is no computing the rapidity with which she would rise. Digges promised to detail all this, and much more, on paper.\*

No wonder that "the hair of Dr. Halliday's wig grows miraculously grey," on other occasions, at the conversation of his friends, Digges and Tone.

Diary 19th.—"In Digges' opinion, one Southern, when moved, equals twenty Northerns; but very hard to move them. Digges is Secretary to the Baltimore Committee, in Maryland, for some years."

Diary 27th.—"Tell Grattan about Digges.—Grattan very eager to know him."

Digges' republican notions extended, at length, to property as well as to political privileges; he borrowed a pair of silver spurs from Samuel Neilson which he did not think it worth his while to return. He was arrested in Belfast in the Autumn of 1791, and poor Lieutenant Russell was induced to go bail for him for a debt amounting to £200. Russell was strongly advised by Mr. William Brown, a merchant, to be beware of committing himself, but Russell's opinion of Digges' honour was not to be shaken. Before the time fixed for the payment of the bond arrived, Digges accompanied a party of the Belfast gentry on an excursion to Scotland. At Glasgow he escorted some of the ladies to the Muslin warehouse of a Mr. McSewaine, and while the latter were busily engaged in examining goods, Digges dexterously appropriated and pocketted a valuable piece of cravat muslin, worked at the corners, which he did not pay for.

The party had scarcely arrived at their hotel when

\* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 143.

the police entered and arrested Digges, and seemed disposed to make prisoners of the whole party. However their well-known respectability, and evident horror and astonishment at the act of their unworthy associate, saved them from further annoyance. Digges' trunk was examined, and various purloined articles, some of value, belonging to his Belfast friends were found. Digges' behaved with his customary coolness and nonchalance, his politeness did not forsake him, he bowed to his former friends, and walked off with the officers with composure, after having made an unsolicited written declaration that none of the persons, in whose company he had been, knew anything of his proceeding.

He contrived, after some days imprisonment, to effect his escape, and so late as ten or twelve years ago I have been informed he was living in his own country in easy circumstances.

Russell's sanguine and enthusiastic temperament was the occasion of the embarrassment he was now placed in, as in other perplexities of greater moment in which he became ultimately involved. He was compelled to sell his commission to pay the debt of the swindler Digges. But previous to this event, as we have seen, Russell had been connected with the leading political men of Belfast; he attributed his connexion with them, and his conversion to their opinions, chiefly to the influence of Mr. William Sinclair, a gentleman who at a later period seemed forgetful of the share he had in the ruin of poor Russell.

Russell, on retiring from the army, was left without other resources than what remained of the produce of the sale of his commission after paying the debt of Digges, which he had become liable for. If the indiscretion was grievous he suffered most grievously for it. In the latter part of 1791 he went to live at Dungannon, and was not long there when, through the interest of his friend Colonel Knox, he was placed in the commission of the peace for the county of

Tyrone, and appointed to the situation of Seneschal of the Manor Court at Dungannon. The date of his appointment to the magistracy is the 21st of December, 1791. This appointment he appears to have held about nine months.

October 15, 1792, Tone received a letter from Russell, stating that he was thinking of going to France, and requesting Tone to get letters of recommendation to mutual friends. Tone says he tried Kirwan for a letter to Condorcet, also Wogan Brown, Hamilton Rowan, Edward Byrne.....

“Sorry for Thomas Russell, but approve of his spirit.”

There can be no doubt but that this determination was after the necessity he felt of retiring from his magisterial office; he resigned that office from conscientious feelings, having differed with his brother magistrates of the county respecting the mode of deciding questions between Catholics and Dissenters, and having publicly stated on the bench that “*he could not reconcile it to his conscience to sit as magistrate on a bench where the practice prevailed of inquiring what a man’s religion was before inquiring into the crime with which a prisoner was accused.*” These words ought to be inscribed on Russell’s tomb. At that period there were differences likewise between the linen merchants and the weavers, and the efforts of Russell to protect the latter caused him to be considered a man with dangerous leanings towards the people, in fact a republican. After throwing up his appointment he returned to Belfast, and renewed his intimacy with his former acquaintances; he was now without resource or employment, dependent solely on the kindness and liberality of Dr. McDonnell, in whose house he lived for a considerable time, till the situation was obtained for him of Librarian to the Belfast Library. The following particulars are taken from the books of that institution:—Thomas Russell was proposed, at Drew’s Tavern, as Librarian by Dr. McDonnell, the 8th of January, 1794, and was ap-



pointed the 20th of February; the salary was £12 a-year. The library was in Anne-street. The salary and house for library not to exceed £30. The salary, however, immediately after his appointment was raised to £30, a little later to £50. The 19th of September another person was appointed during his absence. George B. Madden, Secretary of the Belfast Reading Society, for Promoting Knowledge, retired in January, 1794. The names of the original members were the following:—Robert McCormick, Robert Carey, William Hamilton, George Mulholland, John Rabb, Arthur Quin, Hugh McNamara, John Scott, James Burgess, William Young, J. Bradshaw, James Woodburn, Richard Murdock, Wm. M'Cleery, Alexander Cranston, James DeButts, Maurice Spottiswood, James Cunningham, James McCormick, James Potts, Patrick Connor, James Thirker, Thomas Cruse, James M'Donnell, John Ireland, A. Alexander, Robert Calwell. George B. Madden, Christopher Salmon, Alexander Boyd, Bartholemew Atkinson, Clotworthy Falkner, John Haslett, Abel Hadskis, Henry B. Bryson, Thomas Gelson, Robert McCluny, William Atkinson, Thomas Millikin, Robert Telfair, John Spears, John McCrane, Joseph Alkins, George Black, jun.

Out of this institution arose the present excellent one, commonly called the Linen Hall Library. It was while Russell filled the office of Librarian to the original establishment that the idea was suggested by him of founding the Belfast Academical Institution.

January 23, 1793.—Tone speaks of a Council in Dublin, at which were present—James Plunket, Edward Sweetman, and Thomas Russell, who agreed to a strong address to the nation on the subject of Catholic Emancipation.

In May, 1795, Thomas Russell, on the occasion of Tone's approaching departure for America, accompanied the latter to Emmet's Villa, at Rathfarnham, where that remarkable garden conversation took

place, when Tone's project, with respect to France, was communicated and sanctioned by Emmet and Russell.

Russell returned to Belfast, and on the 20th of May, 1795, was followed by Tone and his family, whose point of embarkation for the United States was Belfast.

The visit to the Cave Hill of Tone, Russell, Neilson, Simms, McCracken, and one or two others, and the solemn obligation of the oath taken by them there, it is needless to repeat. Separation from England was, then, the sole object of all the parties.

Their last excursion, on the 11th of June, Tone says, was "the most agreeable day we passed during our stay, and the most agreeable of our lives, one we made with the Simm's, Neilson's, and Russell, to Rams Island, a beautiful and romantic spot in Loch Neagh." On their return to Belfast, the evening before the departure of the exile and his family, was passed together—Russell, McCracken, Neilson, Simms, and the Tone's were passed together. Every thing that good taste and kind feeling could suggest, to shew civility to Tone and his family, was done. The celebrated Dr. Bunting, who has accomplished so much for the music of his country, was present, and played on the piano (not on the harp as has been erroneously stated by Morgan) one of the most touching of his own mournful and powerful airs—"The Parting of Friends"—when the wife of Tone, one, albeit, unused to the melting mood, burst into tears.

LETTER FROM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE TO CAPTAIN  
JOHN RUSSELL, ON HIS DEPARTURE FROM BELFAST  
FOR AMERICA.

*" June 13, 1795.*

"DEAR JACK—I write this from Belfast, on my way to America. I have been fighting my way here a long time, and, at last, finding all for the contest, on

my part, unprofitable, and, indeed, impossible, I yield to what I cannot any longer oppose. Under this emigration I find complete support in the testimony of my own conscience, the spirit of my family, and the kindness and affection of my friends, especially those of this town, who, you who know them, will believe have acted in a manner the most spirited and honourable. Indeed I am overpowered with their kindness. I cannot leave Ireland without wishing you farewell. Be assured, dear John, I have the sincerest regard for you. As the women write I shall make my part the shorter. Remember me most affectionately to Hugh Bell, whose kindness to me I feel sensibly; give my love to James Nicholson and to Harman Jones\*—they are right good lads, and I hope they will not forget me. Write to me, under cover to Tom. We go on board this evening. Adieu, dear John. God bless you.

“ J. W. TONE.”

Postscripts to preceding letter in the hand-writing of Thomas Russell, and Tone's wife and sister.

“ DEAR JOHN—Tone having been here these three weeks, and there having been no lack of whiskey, claret, and burgundy, must be the excuse for not hearing from, Dear John, your's,

“ CAMDEN.”†

“ MY DEAR, DEAR JOHN—I have not time to say more than God Almighty bless you. This is my last day in Ireland. Farewell for ever. While I have life I shall remember you with sincere affection.

“ Adieu, remember your friend,

“ MATILDA TONE.”

“ MY DEAR JOHN—I am this moment going on board, but I could not think of a letter going to you

\* A gentleman of good property, and first cousin to John Russell.

† i.e. Thomas Russell.

without sending you a last adieu ; be assured I will remember you for ever, and I expect you will not forget me. God bless you, and may every one feel as warmly towards you as I do.

“ Your sincerely affectionate,  
“ MARY TONE.”

### CHAPTER III.

RUSSELL'S intimate connection with the society of United Irishmen, as an active member, busily engaged in promoting its views, may be dated from his return to Belfast, in October, 1792. When the alteration was made in its constitution, and it became a secret society, he was made a sworn member of it by Mr. James Agnew Farrell, of Meaghermon, near Larne, a linen bleacher. The three individuals who were the most active of the Northern leaders, were Neilson, Russell, and M'Cracken. The two latter were closely connected, and warmly attached to each other.

Russell wrote a great deal in the *Northern Star*, and other periodicals of similar politics, but under what signature, I have not been able to learn. Several of the poetical pieces of considerable merit, in those publications, are attributed to him. Those on the subject of Negro slavery, which are to be found in a collection called “ Paddy's Resource, or the Harp of Erin,” published in 1798, namely, “ The Dying Negro,” “ The Negro's Complaint,” “ The Captive Negro,” are likely to be the productions of Russell. A copy of some verses on the same subject as the pieces above named, found among his papers, of which there is no doubt of his being the author, is presented to the public ; and likewise some other pieces, with his signature to them, or the authorship of which is claimed by him in his letters.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM T. RUSSELL—POST  
MARK, BELFAST—TO HIS BROTHER JOHN, IN LON-  
DON.

“Did you ever read Smollet’s noble verses on the Conquest of Scotland, beginning—‘Mourn, Hapless Caledonia, Mourn.’ You know my sentiments: I brood over the injuries of my country.....I will transcribe them,” (his verses). “Send me your opinion of them, and mend them, if they are worth it. I propose making them better, if you think them worth any thing. I have just finished them.”

The copy of the lines sent to his brother were subsequently published in Belfast, in 1793, and having undergone some slight corrections by him, I avail myself of the printed copy, and not the MS. one sent to his brother :—

THE FATAL BATTLE OF AUGHRIM.

(BY THOMAS RUSSELL.)

*Translated from the Irish.*

Mourn, lost Hibernia! ever mourn,  
Thy freedom lost, thy laurels torn,  
Thy warriors sunk on Aughrim’s plains,  
And Britain loading thee with chains.  
Her blood-stain’d standards flaunting high  
All on thy smould’ring ramparts fly;  
Her stern oppression grinds the state,  
Its iron hand prescribes thy fate.  
Thy nobles, a degen’rate race,  
Corrupt, rapacious, sordid, base;  
Anxious their ill-got wealth to save,  
And slaves themselves—to rule the slave;  
Barter thy rights, betray thy cause,  
And abject crouch to British laws.  
Thy peasant vainly tills the ground,  
Whilst eager rapine hovers round,  
To snatch from his enfeebled hand,  
And glut the spoilers of the land.  
Abroad thy exil’d patriots roam,  
Or crowd the sickly gaol at home;

Or, cold and languid, hope resign,  
And lose their energy divine :  
Or, yielded to the gen'ral doom,  
Unhonour'd, slumber in the tomb.  
No more thy standard waves display'd,  
No more are gallant hosts array'd,  
Who in her cause all toils defy,  
Resolved to triumph or to die :  
Whose veins expand with martial fire,  
Who guard the venerable sire ;  
Protect the matron's peaceful rest,  
And nerve the timid virgin's breast,  
As safe she wanders thro' the grove,  
And hears no sigh—but that of love.  
Alas ! these happy scenes are fled,  
Armed bands by ruthless cowards led,  
With dire alarms and bloody strife,  
Destroy the calm of social life ;  
Torture the innocent and brave,  
Or perjured, vile, informers save :  
Oppress the weak with Vandal rage,  
And spurn the hoary head of age ;  
With merciless and ruffian power,  
Invade the sacred midnight hour.  
Religion, morals, laws effaced,  
Devouring flames the cottage waste :  
And violation stalks around,  
Murder and lust pollute the ground.  
They mock the trembling mother's pain,  
The tears of beauty plead in vain !  
The rocks resound with widows' cries,  
The suffering air with orphan'd sighs !  
Peace, virtue, truth, have fled the land,  
War, vice, and crime, usurp command.  
For now thy hapless warriors fly,  
In foreign hosts, to bleed, and die ;  
Immortal laurels there obtain,  
To flourish on a foreign plain.  
While peace and liberty o'erthrown,  
The funeral cyprus shades their own :  
Doom'd to be exiles, or be slaves,  
They seek for honourable graves ;  
Or worse, in Britain's hosts array'd,  
With impious rage thy rights invade ;  
With brethern's blood their faulchions stain,  
And harder bind their parent's chain.  
Oh ! worse than death you're doomed to feel,  
To perish by your children's steel !  
With joy your streaming wounds they see,  
And glory in your misery.

Cowards thy prostrate powers deride,  
 Lost in thy independant pride ;  
 And ceas'd thy harp's melodious sound,  
 And thy green standard trails the ground !  
 Thy honour and defence no more,  
 Defil'd with dust, distained with gore.  
 Thy warriors stretch'd on Aughrim's plains,  
 And Britain smiling at thy pains !  
 Thy freedom lost, thy laurels torn,  
 Mourn, lost Hibernia!—ever mourn.

T. Russell concludes the letter to his brother in the following words :—

“ I made some more, but omitted them in transcribing. Let me know your opinion : I am but a poor poet. I wrote a few lines when I was at the Giant's Causeway, last summer, descriptive of the place and my feelings ; but I did not finish them, and thus they are not worth sending. I will shew you my account of that tour which I made with Templeton, though it is not finished ; and I am meditating a work, which is, however, only in meditation at present. Let me know about your play. Do you ever see O'C—— ? His speculation about parliament here, is erroneous. This is a tolerable long letter, God bless you.

“ Believe me your affectionate friend and brother,  
 “ ALLAN GARDNER,  
 “ Vice-Admiral of the White.”

LINES WRITTEN BY THOMAS RUSSELL, NOV. 5, 1794.

THE “ NEGRO'S COMPLAINT.”

Trembling, naked, wounded, sighing,  
 On this winged house I stand ;  
 Which, with poor black man is flying  
 Far away from his own land.

Fearful waters all around me ;  
 Strange the sights on every hand ;  
 Hurry, noise, and shouts confound me,  
 When I look for Negro land.

Every thing I see, affrights me ;  
 Nothing I can understand :  
 With their scourges, white men fight me,  
 If I weep for Negro land.

Here, in chains, we black men lie;  
 Placed so thick, they on us stand:  
 With heat, and wounds, and grief we die:—  
 'Twas not thus in Negro land.

There we'd room, and air, and freedom;  
 There our little dwellings stand;  
 Families, and rice to feed them:  
 Oh! we weep for Negro land.

Joyful, then, before the doors,  
 Play'd our children, hand in hand:  
 Fresh the fields, and sweet the flowers,  
 Green the hills in Negro land.

There my black *love's* arms were round me;  
 They, whose might, not like this band,  
 Gently held, but did not wound me:  
 Oh! I die for Negro land.

There I often go, when sleeping;  
 See my kindred round me stand;  
 Hear them talk,—their mothers weeping,  
 That I'm torn from Negro land.

The cruel traders stole and sold me;  
 Confin'd me with this iron band:  
 When I'm dead, they cannot hold me:  
 Soon I'll flee to black man's land.

His brother, Capt. John Russell, wrote many small pieces of considerable merit, of a dramatic kind. Tone, speaking of John Russell as "a man of the most warm and affectionate heart, and incontestibly of the most companionable talents he ever knew; his humour, which was pure and natural, flowed in an inexhaustible stream." He translated a French romance of Florian's, and published it with the poetry of the original French along with his translation. He also translated another pastoral piece of Florian's, which was not printed. The following lines may give some idea of his poetical talents.

These lines were found among some papers of Thomas Russell's, and were said to have been sent to Mr. Bunting, by the latter, requesting to have them set to music; but Mrs. Hamilton, the daughter of



Capt. John Russell, informed Miss M'Cracken, they were written by her father.

“ Should we a joy anticipate ;  
Too soon the fond illusion flies ;  
And sorrows for our hearts await,  
As evils still in prospect rise.

“ Happy the breast that never knows  
The sweetly soothing pensive gloom,  
That sensibility bestows,  
And dreads no evils till they come.”

In the summer of 1796, a pamphlet was published in Belfast, by Thomas Russell, which rapidly passed through two editions, and drew the attention of government to its author, who, on the title page, had the boldness to style himself “ An United Irishman.” In this remarkable production, the state of the country, and of the question of Catholic emancipation is reviewed. The following passages from it, afford a fair specimen of its style, and of the writer's ability in the treatment of his subject.

“ A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

“ BY THOMAS RUSSELL, AN UNITED IRISHMAN.

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“ ‘ It is a goodly thing, brethren, to dwell together in unity.’  
PSALMS.

“ FROM the time that the convention of Volunteers failed in obtaining their great object of reform, in the year 1784, the spirit of the nation gradually declined ; and in the year 1791, and the preceding ones, it may be said to have been utterly extinguished. The prosperity of reform seemed to be allowed by all, but those who had an interest in the government ; and it was lost, by that body not espousing the claims of the *Catholics*. By this, it became only an effort of *part* of the people, and was lost, and deserved so to be.

This dereliction of Catholic claims did not arise from a want of liberality in the bulk of the Volunteers; (for their resolutions and declarations, particularly the Northern ones, at the time of the memorable and illustrious institution, assert the right of the Catholics in the most explicit manner); but from their placing too great a confidence in *their leaders*, who were men of the first lordly and landed interests in Ireland, and who shamefully and meanly deserted the people.

“The Catholics at that time were led, from the dereliction of their cause by the Convention, to entertain no hopes from the liberality or justice of the Protestant or Dissenting interest. The great mass of that body were then and before ignorant of, and uninterested in, the general politics of Ireland. Unacquainted with the remote cause, they felt nothing but the oppression of the tax-gatherer, tithe-proctors, and their landlords. Unconnected by any band of union, and having none of ability, education, consequence, or integrity, to espouse their cause, they remained in a state of hopeless despondency; or, if any attempted to redress what they conceived to be grievances, by partial disturbance, they were crushed in a moment by the power of government, supported by the whole landed and ecclesiastical bodies. Severe punishments were inflicted; and the most odious ideas of criminality were annexed to those unfortunate offenders, while no serious inquiry was instituted into the real or supposed grievances which led these wretched and ignorant beings to transgress laws which they had no share in framing; but which, if they did not obey, death or exile, or such punishment as the framers thought proper to annex to the action, was certain to follow.

“Such a system must and did produce a degradation of spirit; and they looked up, not to justice and rights of nature, but to the discretion of the landlords and magistrates. The Catholic gentry, with some exceptions, were men, who, being precluded by the laws from sharing any of the power of Ireland, to

which their fortunes and families gave them pretensions, could only engage in the pleasurable pursuits of the times ; and from an adherence to their conscience, found themselves inferior, in point of political consequence, to every petty Protestant 'Squire. Personal courage, necessary to protect them from personal insult, they possessed to an eminent degree ; but a century of slavery had divested them of political courage, or a wish for political disquisition. Their most daring and adventurous spirits, acquired in all the armies of Europe, (England excepted), an high and deserving reputation. By them it was, that the name of Ireland was heard out of its limits ; for otherwise, the town of Birmingham was as well known, and possessed as much weight in the scale of Europe and the British empire, as the island which we inhabit has ever done since the capitulation of Limerick.....

“ The only political organization of the Catholics was, a committee, composed of some members, elected mostly from the city of Dublin, and in which the Catholic lords and some of the gentry assumed the right of voting. They were a body which made humble applications to government from time to time, but were very little attended to. The impression which government, and not unsuccessfully, wished to make on them was, that government were willing to serve them, but that the Presbyterians and Protestants were against it, and so recommended loyal and dutiful behaviour. Indeed, of so little consequence were the Catholics considered, that in the summer of 1790 or 1791, the then lord lieutenant, Lord Westmorland, being in the South, refused to receive a dutiful and loyal address from the Catholics of one of the Southern cities ; because, in it they expressed a hope, that their case might be taken into consideration.

“ There was no national spirit in Ireland : on the contrary, the anniversary of those events which led to the degradation of the country, were celebrated, strange as it may appear, by Irishmen, with martial pomp and festivity, differing in this from all nations.

ancient or modern. If any felt differently, they prudently concealed their sentiments.

“ The great Protestant landholders had the representation of the people, as it is called, in their own hands : the power of returning members to the House of Commons, even for counties, with one or two exceptions, was in the hands of a few leading men in each district. When these could not agree as to the person who was to be called a representative of the people, the speculations ran, ‘ that my Lord such-a-one’s interest, joined to Sir John such-a-one, would succeed in returning Mr. such-a-one against the Marquis of such-a-one.’ As to the interest or wishes of the community, that was not pretended to ; and the men thus returned had the power, for the power of England was to support them, of taxing the people of Ireland to what amount their honour and consciences directed. It was an easy, pleasant, and lucrative task to govern such a country ; the person sent over had only to engage so many of the great land and borough holders in his interest as insured a hollow majority in the Commons, and as these gentlemen and their friends could be remunerated by the taxes they imposed on Ireland, and the places created there, it did not cost the English agent much. However, as economy is a virtue, it was practised by the English agent in some respects, for he did not retain, except in cases of emergency, more than was sufficient to do the king’s business ; by this means he had a greater number of places and emoluments to bestow on his English friends, and such as were useful to the English ministry elsewhere.

“ From this system, it is obvious that the interests of some of these landholders will in smaller matters clash with each other ; though in the main object, that of holding in their hands the power of the country against the people at large, they will agree. In proportion then as the people shew any desire to assume political consequence, these gentlemen will all unite with the English party against the common enemy—the people

—and in proportion as the people are crushed and torpid, the separate interest of these gentlemen in counties and boroughs, making of roads, canals, excisemen, commissioners, bishops, judges, &c., &c., will be considered, and differences will arise—this will serve as a clue to the parliamentary debates. Let them be taken, for example, about the year 1791.....

“ The aristocracy, or oligarchy, governed Ireland with despotic sway ; such a system could be only upheld, first, by foreign and extrinsic power, which could at any time crush the whole nation ; second, by ignorance ; third, by cowardice ; fourth, by want of military resources in the people—or, finally, by the disunion of the people among themselves. Now, as to the first, though England be the most powerful of the two nations, yet it is undeniable that much of that power has been, and now is derived from the connection between the two islands ; if any person doubts of this, let him consider the immense resources in provisions, and men drawn from this country during the different wars in which England has thought proper to engage. Suppose every Irish soldier withdrawn from the English armies, what a figure would they make ? How would they protect those foreign possessions which are so much vaunted of, and to which Irish merchants are forbidden to trade ? It is said that the English fleets cover the ocean—how could these fleets be provisioned if Ireland did not furnish it ? If every Irish seaman had been withdrawn from the English fleet on the first of June, will any man in his senses say, that that memorable victory would ever have been obtained ? It were easy to dilate on this ; and to push it still farther, by showing that if Ireland, instead of being neutral in any contest, (particularly the present,) in which England was engaged, was hostile, the commercial pre-eminence of England, on which her political power is founded, would not be eclipsed, but extinguished.....

“ The only cause adequate to depress such a people was disunion—so long as that prevailed, so long could

this aristocracy plunder and insult the country, and even quarrel among themselves for the division of the spoil with impunity; but when ever a UNION of the people takes place—when they once consider *all* Irishmen as their friends and brethren, the power of this aristocracy will vanish—nor is this abstract reasoning: let facts be appealed to.

“ In the year 1791, it was projected by a few individuals, who were abhorrent of the mode in which Ireland was governed, to banish religious prejudices, by effecting a union of Irishmen of ALL religious persuasions, and by that means to obtain a Reform of Parliament, which should equally include Irishmen of EVERY sect.....

“ In this winter, the independent part of the Catholic Committee differed from their aristocracy of lords and gentlemen, and, by a decisive majority, freed themselves from those hereditary advisers. A few of these gentlemen published an address, such as government wished—but, as all who isolate themselves from the mass of their party do, they soon became insignificant. That session produced some trifling relaxation of the penal code; but this did not deter the independent part of the Catholics, who persisted in urging their claims. The great body of Dissenters were rapidly embracing and promoting them; and the calling a General Committee of the Catholics, who could fully and indisputably represent the wants and sentiments of that body, still further promoted the great cause.

“ From the moment that the attempt at union was obvious, the aristocracy lost no opportunity of abusing the system, and all who were active in promoting it—and in the absurd and wicked language of that faction, the union of a people, so desirable to every man of virtue and religion, was called an *unnatural union*; but it was against the meeting of the Catholic Committee that their chief efforts were directed, and in consequence, the Grand Juries, at the summer assizes, issued their resolutions, of which the sentiments and

composition were equally contemptible. Those formidable denunciations, and the torrents of abuse which were poured forth in the public prints, did not prevent the meeting of the Delegates of the Catholics in Dublin, on the 3rd of December, 1792, a memorable day for Ireland. This meeting was sanctioned by the great body of the Dissenters, who, by associations and resolutions enforced their claims—and this may be considered as the act, and the only act, for a length of time of the Irish people. Now what was the consequence? The very government, who, some time before slighted the Catholics and their claims, now *requested* to have the petition of the Catholics transmitted by them to the king, *and it was refused them*; and the very parliament who met shortly after, and who had refused to listen to any alteration, now acknowledged the propriety of a *reform*, and were willing to concede one. Now it is obvious that this alteration could have arisen only from the union and spirit of the people; no other adequate cause can be assigned. Most people were then of opinion that the great desideratum of Ireland, a reform, would be obtained, and it apparently required little ability to ensure it. Had the same line of conduct been pursued, the unity of action and design which had hitherto produced such great effects—if Catholic Emancipation had been considered but as a step, and as a step which would be almost useless, unless accompanied by reform, it probably would have succeeded.....

“At this time some individuals were anxious to know *how much* government would grant to the Catholics. That any of the Catholics should be satisfied with a partial repeal of the penal code, or even make the total repeal their ultimate object, was sufficient to betray a want of unity in the design. From the *instant* that the government saw this, the cloud which hovered over them was dissipated, as if by enchantment; that *instant* they took their ground; the Catholic bill was *procrastinated*; strong measures were adopted with the greatest harmony and unanimity by

parliament; *part* of the people was attacked; the most spirited part of the north was dragooned; proclamations were issued; volunteers were disarmed; arbitrary imprisonments were inflicted; prosecutions were instituted; the gun-powder and militia bills were passed; the nation was foiled in its pursuit, and *put down*; terror was the order of the day; it could scarce be believed but by those who were witness to it, how rapid the change was in the spirit of the metropolis; and so completely was the *common enemy, the people*, subdued, that long before the end of the session, some of the opposition again ventured to rail at the government. The Catholic Bill did not pass till the month of April, and it may be doubted, whether, if the battle of Nerwindin and the defection of Dumourier had taken place sooner, it would have passed into a law; and had the royal assent been refused, there was no spirit in the nation to bring it forward in a shape likely to ensure its success. But though the bill did pass, yet the spirit of the people being for a time suppressed—the vital principle of union being for a time suspended—and the political powers of the country remaining in the same hands, it was to be expected that the bulk of the Catholics would feel the vengeance of every petty country aristocracy *irritated* by their late defeat, every man must easily see that this was the case; witness the prosecutions of Fay, Bird, Delahoyd, Byrne, &c., &c.; witness the severities exercised on the lower orders of Catholics, which continue to this day, and of which it is impossible to hear the true account without indignation and horror.

“It was plain that the Catholic gentry would be equally odious on the same grounds; that any privilege to which they could aspire under the act, that of being a grand juror or magistrate, could only make them the tail of an aristocracy which detested them, and the only real consequence they could have, would be from their intimate union with the Catholic body. Their interest then, as well as their duty should have



led them to make a common cause with the Catholics of their country ; by this it is not meant that they should support them in any improper proceeding, but that they should protect the poor with their fortunes, their ability, and their courage, whenever they were oppressed and mal-treated merely as Catholics, of which the three last years afford so many cruel instances.....

“ But it unfortunately happened that in many instances the Catholic gentry attached themselves to this aristocracy, or at least did not protect the people. This often arose from the fear of being implicated as defenders, from the system of terror which was then spread, and from the want of that *political courage* which has been before mentioned. The consequence was, that such men, without acquiring the confidence, or having any influence with the aristocracy, lost all weight and influence with the lower orders, and thus became both insignificant and insecure. That the lower orders, thus left to themselves, conceiving that they were oppressed and without people of knowledge or consequence to advise or protect them, should at times commit unjustifiable actions is not surprising. This was another instance of the misfortune of want of union. And it is certain that the Catholic body, since the passing of that bill, have been regarded with a jealous eye, and have not derived from it that security and importance, nor Ireland that degree of freedom which many expected. The very summer following, such was the strength of government and the weakness of the nation, that the militia act was enforced, though it was so obnoxious to the people that it was resisted in many counties, and much blood was spilled before it was carried into effect : a formidable Irish army was raised, armed and disciplined, to keep Ireland in subjection ; the armed peasantry of one country were employed to subdue the peasantry of another, who were resisting real or supposed grievances that they had felt in common.....

“ The weakness of the country is still further ex-

emplified by what occurred during the administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, and on his removal. When Mr. Pitt deemed it expedient to dupe the Duke of Portland and some more of his party, it was generally understood that part of the bargain was, that the Irish affairs were to be managed by them—and Lord Fitzwilliam's appointment was in consequence of that arrangement. This Portland party had some retainers in the Irish Parliament, who were part of the gentlemen of opposition, and they were to be in the administration under him; this was to be a government of conciliation, that is, some unimportant concessions were to be made; but by them the great point, a blind obedience to the English influence and administrations, particularly in regard to the present war, was to be ensured..... The great measure of conciliation was, the repeal of the remainder of the penal code. It was understood that this was certainly to take place—addresses and petitions poured in from all parties in favour of it. However, so far from passing, this governor was recalled, and the addresses from ALL parties of Ireland requested his stay, and the passing of the bill: he was *removed*, and it was *rejected*; and the gentlemen of opposition from railing at the French, the seditious, the Defenders, &c., were again at leisure to resume their old trade of railing against the government.....

“One curious fact came to light by the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, which shews what dependence is to be put in courts and statesmen, and should sink deep in the mind of every Irishman. He asserts in his letter, in *vindication* of himself, ‘*that his orders from England and his own intentions, were, not to bring on the Catholic question if it could be kept back.*’

“From that period, new laws of an oppressive and sanguinary nature have been enacted, and enforced for the purpose of extinguishing any spark of freedom that might yet exist. For the last eighteen months, a system of brotherly love and union, and a revival of national spirit, has been rapidly taking place among

the people—it was to be expected that this would be opposed. Of late, a set of men have appeared in different parts of the North, styling themselves ORANGEMEN, and professing themselves to be inimical to the Catholics. Some of these called Orangemen, in the county of Armagh, were undoubted execrable villains and plunderers; but many have taken that name and arrayed themselves by the instigation of artful and wicked men. Now, as these Orangemen can have no real interest in this, and as many of them are very ignorant, and as some of them have appeared in places where no disturbance, on pretext of religion, had taken place; and as religious animosities was the engine by which this country was kept in subjection; this may be considered as the last effort of the enemies of Ireland to prevent that union which when once effected will terminate their power.....

“ Great pains have been taken to prevent the mass of mankind from interfering in political pursuits; force, and argument, and wit, and ridicule, and invective, have been used by the governing party, and with such success, that any of the lower, or even middle rank of society who engage in politics, have been, and are, considered not only as ridiculous, but in some degree culpable; even those who are called *moral* writers, employed their talents on the same side, so that at last it became an undisputed maxim that the poor were not to concern themselves in what related to the government of the country in which they lived; nevertheless it is an error of the most pernicious nature, as will appear from considering the subject. Those insolent enslavers of the human race, who wish to fetter the minds as well as the body, exclaim to the poor, ‘ mind your looms, and your spades and ploughs; have you not the means of subsistence; can you not earn your bread, and have wives and get children; and are you not protected as long as you keep quiet; and have you not all that you can earn, except so much as is necessary for us to govern you; leave the government to wiser heads and to people who understand it, and interfere no more!’

“ Now in the first place, think who this government party have for the most part been ;—‘ by their fruits ye shall know them ;’ look at their fruits in history, and see what terrible calamities the perfidy, ambition, avarice, and cruelty of these rulers have brought on mankind ; look at the people who are said to make laws for this country ; look at some of that race who inherit great fortunes without the skill or capacity of being useful ; those fungus productions, who grow out of a diseased state of society, and destroys as well the vigour as the beauty of that which nourishes them. These are some of the wiser heads ; these are the hands in which the people are to repose their lives and properties ; for whose splendid debaucheries they must be taxed ; and for whose convenience they must fetter even their thoughts.

“ Now on what foundation do these arrogant claims rest ; it is not superior virtue, for in such hands power should be vested ; on a fair comparison it will be found that the aristocracy have not a superiority in that respect. Power, long continued in any mortal hands, has a tendency to corrupt ; and when that power is derived from birth or fortune, and held independent of the people, it is still more likely to be abused ; it is not that they contribute more to the support of the state, for that is manifestly not the case. Supposing, for a moment, that the whole of the expense was defrayed by the rich, though they might with some colour of justice claim the exclusive right of making laws affecting property, yet this could never extend to laws affecting life—every man has a life to lose, though perhaps no property—laws, therefore, affecting life, should have his concurrence. But take any district, and see how much more the mass of the people pay than the governing party ; and it is still more obvious, when the proportion which each pays according to his income is considered. Here, if a man of five pounds income pays one, the proportion to a man of one thousand pounds income, would be two hundred pounds, but this proportion is not observed.....

“ It is not here intended to question the right of landed property, but merely to shew, as is evident from these considerations, that even in a pecuniary view, the mass of the people are entitled to a share in the government as well as the rich.

“ Agriculture is the basis of all riches, commercial as well as others ; the earth was given to man, by Him who alone had a right to give it, for his subsistence ; let not those then who raise the fruits of it among us be despised. But these are in the language of the great :—‘ the mob, the rabble, the beggars on the bridge, the grey-coated men, whose views are anarchy and plunder, and whose means are bloodshed and murder—are such men to be trusted with power ? No ! Keep them down—do they complain, disregard them—do they resist, dragoon them—send an army to burn their houses, and murder them with the bayonet or the gibbet.

“ The God of Heaven and earth endowed these men with the same passions and the same reason as the great, and, consequently, qualified them for the same liberty, happiness, and virtue ; but these gentlemen conceive themselves wiser than the Deity ; they find that he was wrong, and set about rectifying his work ; they find the moral qualities and political rights of their fellow creatures commensurate with their fortunes ; they punish the poverty which their own insatiable avarice in a great degree creates ; and thus, as in every case, when the will of God is departed from, instead of order, confusion, folly, and guilt is produced either immediately or ultimately. How different was the conduct of him in whom we profess to believe ? What did he, who knew the hearts of man, say of the great and powerful ? He did not revile the poor—he comforted, he instructed, he blessed them, he forgave them their sins, and declared the judgments of God on such as laid on them grievous burthens and hard to be borne.

“ Though it appears that the mass of mankind have a RIGHT to political freedom, yet the extent of the DUTY which is incumbent on every member of

society in consequence, does not seem to be sufficiently attended to, notwithstanding it is a duty of the greatest magnitude, as will appear from the following considerations :

“ 1st. No man can doubt that as a moral agent he is accountable to God for the use to which he applies his money, his strength, his time, and his abilities.

“ 2d. If one man was applied to by another to assist him in committing a robbery or murder, there can be no doubt that it is his duty to refuse, and not only so, but to endeavour to prevent the perpetration of the deed.

“ 3d. If he was asked for money to carry such purpose into effect, he is bound to refuse ; if he gave it he would be as guilty of the design of robbery or murder as he who planned or executed it.

“ 4th. No man or set of men, let them call themselves or be called what they please, or be they ever so numerous, can make an act which is immoral in itself, proper, or can have any power to authorise its commission.

“ 5th. Man is bound to refuse committing robbery, murder, or other sinful act, and to resist its being perpetrated, if resistance be in his power, whether he is ordered or incited by one or ten thousand.....

“ The prosperity of a nation does not consist in the acquisition of immense fortunes by any class of men, such as merchants or landholders. The prosperity of a state has been well defined by the excellent Mr. Tytler in his Historical Register, ‘ if the majority can procure a comfortable subsistence with little labour, and have something to share with those who are in want, the state of the people is flourishing ; but, on the other hand, if they feel that they can scarce live upon their income, and that this income can only be procured by incessant toil, that the moment this toil is interrupted they are in absolute want, then the country does not flourish.’ Now it is notorious that the majority of the people in this country are in a state of extreme poverty, that it is by hard and incessant labour that they

can subsist, and if sickness or accidents befall them they are almost deprived of the means of existence. But, supposing for a moment, that by the war, prosperity and affluence, sufficient to satiate avarice, was brought home to every individual of the nation; still, if the war was unjust, this wealth would only be the fruits of robbery and murder. If the English, or any other people, think gold a sufficient cause to shed blood—if they are satisfied to fill the world with carnage and misery, that they may acquire cloves, and nutmegs, and contracts, and slaves, let it not be so with us—let justice be the rule of our conduct, and let us not, for any human consideration, incur the displeasure of the Deity.....

“ Let not Ireland be considered as unimportant in the war ; immense sums have been voted to its support. It has been calculated that near *one-third* of the seamen in the British navy are Irish. Above 150,000 Irish soldiers have been employed in the war. Mankind are used to disregard actions which do not immediately fall under their observation. Let us for a moment consider the miseries which this multitude of men have inflicted on people who never injured them ; the number of our fellow creatures whom they have killed or mangled ; the widows and orphans that they have made, who cry to heaven for redress ; the plunder, violence, rapes, massacres, confusion, flight, affliction, anguish, despair, and horror which they have occasioned, and which are incident to and inseparable from the execrable trade of war. Are then these dreadful scenes less real, or are the Irish nation less accountable for them because they are acted at a distance, because they occur in France, in Flanders, in Holland, in the Atlantic, in the East or West Indies, than if they occurred at home ?

“ Consider, beside, the number of these your countrymen who have themselves perished by disease, famine, and the sword ; think of the men torn, without even the form of legal process, from their destitute innocent families, under the name of defenders, by a

set of detestable ruffians ; crammed on board of ships of war, and there forced to fight in a cause which, perhaps, they thought wrong. The North American savages are superior to such a practice. When they go to war, every man of the tribe who disapproves of it is at liberty to remain at home or peaceably follow his avocations of hunting ; but here a man may be forced to act against his reason and his conscience, or be exposed to such torments as all men's fortitude is not equal to withstand. Are the Irish nation aware that this contest involves the question of the slave trade, the one now of the greatest consequence on the face of the earth ? Are they willing to employ their treasure and their blood in support of that system, because England has 70 or 7000 millions engaged in it, the only argument that can be adduced in its favour, *monstrous* as it may appear ? Do they know that that horrid traffic spreads its influence over the globe ; that it creates and perpetuates barbarism and misery, and prevents the spreading of civilization and religion, in which we profess to believe ? Do they know that by it thousands, and hundreds of thousands, of these miserable Africans are dragged from their innocent families like the miserable defenders, transported to various places, and there treated with such a system of cruelty, torment, wickedness, and infamy, that it is impossible for language adequately to express its horror and guilt, and which would appear rather to be the work of wicked demons than of men ? If this trade is wrong, is it right for the Irish nation to endeavour to continue it ?.....

“ It appears that the Irish nation have not that portion of liberty, which would give them an efficient weight in their government ; that this want of liberty arises from want of union among the people ; that by union the people would acquire sufficient weight to give political integrity and virtue to their government, and liberty, peace and happiness to themselves ; and that they are bound by every consideration of interest, of



reason, of justice, of mercy, and of religion, to pursue that union.....

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.

“ *Belfast, Sept. 11, 1796.*”

#### CHAPTER IV.

RUSSELL'S exertions in the cause of the United Irishmen, were not confined to assistance in the press and in the councils of the society; he took a very active part in propagating the system in the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Donegal. He was in the habit of making pedestrian excursions throughout these counties; and I have been told, by persons intimately connected with him in his proceedings in those places, that Russell's efforts, in gaining over persons of the Presbyterian persuasion, notorious for their hostility to those of the Roman Catholic religion, had more success than the exertions of any other Northern leader. The gravity of his character, his insinuating manners and address, his reputation for propriety of conduct, and reverence for religion, contributed to this result. The materials he had to work on, were of a singular description.

There were two parties of Presbyterians in the North. The party most inclined to the Church of England principles, received a bounty from government. The party whose members seceded from the others, got nothing for a time; they preached against Popery and prelacy; but afterwards, softening their tone, with respect to prelacy, they received the *Regium Donum*. They then preached against Popery alone, and agitated the minds of the people, and many of them took arms to put down the Catholics.

In the summer of 1796, the chief military command, in the county of Down, was assigned to Russell. Though Russell's pamphlet was the means of drawing on him more closely the attention of the government, in 1796, long before that period, a letter addressed

to him, in the spring of 1791, by Tone, had fallen into the hands of government, wherein sentiments of hostility to British interests were freely expressed. This letter had been brought before the Secret Parliamentary Committee, in 1793. In April, 1797, when a committee of United Irishmen were seized at Alexander's public-house, in Belfast, by Colonel Barber, attended by Newell, who wore on that occasion, as well as many others, a handkerchief over his face; two boxes were discovered, and broken open, and the papers found in them were carried away. These boxes belonged to William Putnam M'Cabe, and several letters of Russell's were amongst the papers taken and transmitted to government. The circumstance is communicated in a letter of Miss M'Cracken's to her brother. The reference to Newell is in these words, "the seizure and arrests, made by Barber, were directed by a little man, with a handkerchief tied over his face, who was known to be Newell."

There can be little doubt, but that the eyes of the authorities were upon him from that period, nevertheless, no violent measures were had recourse to against him. On the contrary, individuals of high rank and influence, used means of a very opposite kind to detach him from the society of which he was known to be one of its original founders, and most active supporters. In August, 1794, he had an offer made to him of an Ensigncy in a militia regiment, and the promise of speedy promotion to the rank of Lieutenant. That offer was made through an officer of the name of Fortescue, and it was declined by Russell. Notwithstanding the known danger of such a man's connection with the society, and the notoriety of his efforts to establish and maintain it; he was uniformly treated with respect by his opponents, and even, when arrested and imprisoned, he had no personal indignities to complain of in the conduct of the agents and officers of government.

The influence of the conduct and demeanour of a gentleman, in all his acts and social relations, was felt

even by the enemies of his political principles, and procured for him that species of homage, to the nobility of nature, which men like Russel, in the worst of times, and in most circumstances, seem to have the power of commanding.

On the 16th of September, 1796, in one of the periodical sweeps of terror of that period, Thomas Russell was arrested in Belfast. In the memoir of Sampson, the particulars of this occurrence are minutely detailed.

Timely notice had been given to Russell of the intention of the authorities to arrest him; he declined to take advantage of the intimation given him. He surrendered himself to the doughty Peer, the Earl of Westmeath.

Tone, in his diary, referring to the intelligence of this event, says—"I see that my dear friends, T. Russell and S. Neilson, were arrested for high treason, on that day, (the 16th of September,) together with Rowley, Osborne, Haslitt, and a person I do not know, named Shannahan. The persons who arrested them, were—Marquis of Downshire, Earl of Westmeath, Lord Londonderry, together with that most shameless of all, John Pollock.

"It is impossible to conceive the effect this heavy misfortune has upon my mind. If we are not in Ireland in time enough to extricate them, they are gone; for the government will move heaven, and earth, and —, to ensure their condemnation. *Good God!* If Russell and Neilson fall, where shall I find two such men to replace them. My poor friend Russell, with whom I have spent the happiest hours of my life, and whom I love with the affection of a brother."\*

The Belfast prisoners were escorted by the Marquis of Downshire and Lord Castlereagh, as far as Hillsborough. From that town they were sent to Dublin; and, having undergone an examination before Mr. Justice Boyd, were committed to prison.

\* Tone's Life, vol. ii. p. 82.

Thomas Russell, John Young, and R. Osborne, were sent to Newgate; H. Haslitt, S. Neilson, D. Shannahan, J. Kennedy, C. Teeling, and — Barclay, were imprisoned in Kilmainham.

In a letter of Russell's to his brother, giving him an account of his arrest and imprisonment,\* he states, that soon after his imprisonment, he was applied to, through the channels of communication, as he believed, from the government, "to know if he would consent to leave the country, and go to England," which "he peremptorily refused to do." When several of his fellow-prisoners were liberated, on bail, it was suggested to him, to offer security for his good behaviour; this he, likewise, refused to do, on the grounds, that "his so doing, would be an acknowledgment of having done something wrong, which he never would admit."

Mr. Pelham had a communication with a military officer, of high rank, on this subject, and "he spoke handsomely of his (Russell's) character." To prevent uneasiness to his friends, he acknowledged "the government had no specific charge against him; but, from his public character and conduct, were determined to keep him in prison during the war; at the same time, expressing very exaggerated notions of his talents and influence." Russell, thus, remained in confinement, and in the winter of 1797-8, was the only remaining prisoner, with an exception of those first arrested. On the 19th of March, 1799, he was embarked, with the other state prisoners, for Scotland, and sent to Fort George, where he remained in confinement till the latter part of June, 1802, when the prisoners, in virtue of the compact entered into with the government, and so shamefully violated by it, were at length permitted to leave the country.

The narrative of Thomas Russell, published in the former series of this work, respecting the com-

\* "The United Irishmen," (Second Series,) vol. i. p. 181.

pact with the state prisoners, shows that Russell was one of the leading persons among the state prisoners in the conference with government, although the fact is only slightly alluded to in his usual unassuming manner. Russell had no desire, on any occasion, to thrust himself into the foreground of the public picture; it was a matter of indifference to him what place he occupied in it. In that letter to his brother, mention is made of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and of Russell being the only friend who saw him, with the exception of his relatives, from the time of his being brought to Newgate. Russell was frequently consulted on the affairs of the Union by Lord Edward, from the commencement of the imprisonment of the former, although the fact is merely glanced at by him; the letter is worded in the most guarded manner, as that letter, and every previous one, between the brothers, was sent to the Castle, and there perused.

Russell's knowledge of the treatment of Lord Edward, and of his dying wishes, may have been one of the causes which led to the seizure of his papers at a later period, when Mr. Carleton, attended by soldiers, entered his room in Newgate, before day-light one morning, and seized all his papers, by orders of government. He had never been able, he states in December, 1800, to procure their restoration from that period, nor of those seized in 1796, by the Marquis of Downshire.

In Sweetman's journal, the date of the 27th July, 1798, is prefixed to the insertion of two names, in ominous juxta position, "Thomas Reynolds,—Ivers," without note or comment. Neilson attributed the removal of the prisoners to Fort George, and the seizure of their papers at that period, partly to the publication of some letters, and likewise to the discovery of some papers, found on Ivers, purporting to be notes of a conversation which had taken place among the prisoners in Newgate, Neilson, Russell, himself, and some others, respecting the violation of

the faith of government in their regard, and the probable success of an insurrection in the existing state of the country.

The wife of one of the prisoners, of the name of Kean, then confined in Newgate, and intimately acquainted with Russell, states, that a paper was drawn up by the latter, with the cognizance of Neilson, and some other of the state prisoners, after the government had broken faith with them. That the object of this paper was, to procure from France the assistance of a number of experienced French officers, who were to come over here in coloured clothes, to head the people, emancipate the leaders, and renew the struggle with redoubled energy.

It is the opinion of many of the persons connected with the United Irishmen, that the project of reopening the communication with France, and renewing the struggle at that period, was a plot, into which some of the leaders were inveigled, concocted by the agents of the Irish government, with the view of furnishing a pretext for the continuance of the incarceration of the prisoners, mainly for the purpose of preventing further disclosures and publications of theirs, similar to those of Neilson, of Russell, of Emmet, O'Connor, and M'Neven.

The papers which Russell complains of having been seized by the orders of government, and retained in 1800, were afterwards delivered up to him, with the government seals unbroken. Most of these papers, among which were most valuable documents, were subsequently seized at the residence of his sister, in 1803. They fell into the hands of Major Sirr, and they probably remain in the possession of his descendants; and if so, they may yet be restored to the surviving relatives of Thomas Russell.\* Luckily, a

\* An object of some value to the latter, about 1816 or 1817, got into the Major's safe keeping, a portrait of Thomas Russell, which his niece, Mrs. Hamilton, had been robbed of by a highwayman of some notoriety for his depredations on mail-coach passengers, of the name of Collier, who was living in the county of Meath two years

sufficient number of Russell's papers have escaped the tender mercies of the collector of curiosities and works of art, that had been the property of remarkable rebels. Among those papers, some portions of the correspondence between Russell and the well-known botanist and natural historian, John Templeton, the original of which are in my hands, (thanks to the kindness of the surviving friends of the latter), will throw some light on the character and pursuits of a man whom the writer of the notice of his career, in "Frazer's Magazine," represents as a fanatic demagogue, bordering on fatuity, dreaming of nothing but "treasons, stratagems, and broils." Forty-one years have closed over Russell's career; his crime against the state has been long since atoned for; the cause of the society of which he was a founder, was lost; his party was trodden down, and trampled upon, by its victorious opponents. The triumph of the latter was complete. Victory could not push vengeance further: the vanquished were slaughtered on the scaffold, or on the field, in flight after battle, or in consternation without resistance; and yet, at the expiration of so many years, the venom and virulent malignity of faction, are concentrated in a tissue of the grossest misrepresentations, with a purpose that almost deserves the name of fiendish—to depreciate the intellectual and moral character of a man, (be his political conduct whatever it may have been), of the most estimable qualities, of refined taste, of respectable attainments, and of excellent natural gifts.

ago, having returned from transportation with the character of a man thoroughly reformed. The stolen property of Mrs. Hamilton was recovered by the police; but the Major, who, at that time, was the chief magistrate of the Head Office, being a lover of the arts, retained the portrait of Russell, the only one deserving that name in existence. The portrait which is prefixed to this memoir is taken from a miserably executed sketch of Russell, in the "Hibernian Magazine," of 1803, corrected by a friend of Russell, from recollection of his features. It, therefore, can hardly be considered as a portrait, the resemblance of which to the original, can be vouched for.

In this case, as well as in other instances of a recent date, it is melancholy to see, that the foulest slanders and perversions of truth can be imposed on people in England, and a party in Ireland, for truthful statements of facts, and a faithful portraiture of the character of many of the men of 1798, who were sacrificed to the vices of a system of government, without an equal for its wickedness, in the history of modern times.

The following correspondence between Russell and Templeton, took place, at distant intervals, during the confinement of the former in Newgate, and in Fort George, in Scotland.

## CHAPTER V.

FROM J. TEMPLETON TO T. R.

*“ Orange Grove, March 19, 1797.**“ MR. THOMAS RUSSELL,*

*“ DEAR SIR—I am sorry to find, by your last letter, that you are so extremely unwell; and I am afraid you are not likely to receive that which I think will be the most likely to recover you, that is, fresh air and exercise, after your being told, that there was nothing against you, and no object in view, but to keep you confined.*

*“ I cannot see the least prospect of an end to your imprisonment. I showed your letter to Dr. Mac D——, and he promised to let you know what he thought of your case.*

*“ Do not accuse me of supposing you are one of those people who conceive the world to be generated by itself. I think a theory to account for natural appearances is, what every reasoning, thinking person will most probably adopt; and from every work of the creation, which is manifested to our senses, it appears evident, that nothing has been produced con-*



trary to established laws; these laws preserve the regular order and symmetry of the whole, and prevent that confusion which would otherwise take place. I cannot think, that the Almighty Creator would ever form, by unnatural means, that which could be formed by natural. And I also think, that he has allowed it to be the purest part of human happiness, to unfold the volume of nature, which gradually exposes to our view the hidden causes of particular effects.

“ ‘ Thus, the man whom nature, and nature’s works  
Can charm, with God himself holds converse,  
Grows familiar, day by day, with his conceptions,  
Acts upon his plan, and forms to him  
The relish of his soul.’

AIKENSIDE’S *Pleasures of Imagination.*

“ You wish to know, if I saw the Botanical Garden when I was last in Dublin; but, at that time, I could say little about it: it is now two years since, and I would suppose great things have since been done. It appeared to me, at that time, that the plan was so extensive, it would, in all probability, never be completed; and I have heard of nothing since, to make me change my opinion. I think the idea of turning every part of science to immediate use, is a thing that will constantly retard its progress. It is the province of one man to observe, and of another to turn these observations to some useful purpose; for the first discoverer, not being able himself to find any useful end to which his discoveries tended, perhaps neglects to record them, and a superior genius arising, to whom these records would have saved an immensity of time and labour, is obliged to toil through tedious experiments, or to climb mountains, wade bogs, travel through glens, and into woods, in search of what was often found long before, but thought of no use, therefore neglected and thrown away. A botanic garden ought, therefore, to aim at getting an extensive collection of plants; for the only use of such a place is, that it may have at all times plants that are already known, to compare with those of which we are doubt-

ful. One thing which the Dublin botanic garden appears to want, and which can alone bring it forward, is an intelligent practical gardener, who has also a considerable degree of enthusiasm in pursuit of knowledge in his profession.

“ If Mr. Wedgewood’s clay would form a composition strong enough, I think it would answer the purpose of pendulums extremely well. I will make known your idea to our ingenious friend, Job Rider. I have been engaged some time with the Embassy to China. It is a book, I think, that relates a number of facts; for, I believe, we may rely on the truth of most things mentioned, on Sir G. Staunton’s own authority; for he appears a man void of the ambition of shining as a literary man. But I am sorry to find, there was no man to be found better qualified to give us an account of so interesting a country.

“ Although you are blamed for being the first to begin the uniting system, if you look at page 168, Vol. II., of the Dublin edition, you will find that it existed in China before it was ever thought of in Europe; but it cannot make much progress in China for a length of time. The common people there seem to have very few more ideas than their kindred brutes; for where people are urged on by a mandarin following with a whip, and prostrate themselves before a human being of a superior order, we cannot suppose that they have any idea of the rank which man holds in the scale of created beings.

“ I am glad to find your sufferings alleviated by the kindly intercourse of Dr. Mitchel. That health and happiness may attend on you and all your friends here, is the wish of

“ Yours very truly,  
(Signed) “ JOHN TEMPLETON.”

FROM J. TEMPLETON TO T. R.

“ *Belfast, September, 1797.*

“ Accuse me not, my dear friend, of forgetting you,

for this can hardly be the case, when every walk I take in pursuit of the beauties of nature, brings to my recollection similar excursions in your company—every rare fossil that I meet with, and curious plant that I observe, causes me to find the want of my friend. Often does my imagination dwell with pleasure on the picturesque scenery of Glenarve, and the still more sublime rocks of Rathlin, neither can I go into my garden and view the little heathy bank, you so often admired, without remembering the pleasure I received from your praises of my ingenuity in forming it.

“What has so long deterred me from writing, was, my wish never to do any thing I would be unwilling to acknowledge openly, and I detest doing any thing which could possibly bring another into difficulty, or oblige them to tell lies, to screen themselves from punishment. Nor did I wish to have the conversation of friends made public, for, though it might be perfectly innocent, no one would wish to speak it aloud in the streets, for every passing stranger to hear.

“Our benevolent friend, the Doctor, willing to do every service in his power to mankind, lately set on foot a fever hospital; the institution was certainly good, but it has proved, what many people prognosticated, a ‘seminary for diseases,’ since it has only been three months established, the housekeeper, the apothecary, the Dispensing Surgeon, Alexander M'Donnell, and Dr. Boisragon, also the Doctor himself, have all caught the fever by their attendance—they are all happily recovered, but the last mentioned, and he is nearly also convalescent.

“Our reading society has been for some time in a very declining state, owing to the agitated state of men's minds about their personal concerns, and want of money. I really feared that for some time we should be obliged to shut up the library till more favourable times.

“We have, however, made another trial, and I now hope we will be able to keep the sinking vessel afloat: we elected as Secretary, in the place of Mr. M'Ilveen,

who executed the office very irregularly, Mr. Munford, of the Salt pans, a man renowned for regularity. If there is any prospect of your getting out on bail, you may consider me as one of your bail: as I am confident my friend will never bind himself to do that which is not in his power to perform, or which would in the slightest degree injure a friend—your friends here remember you—remember them.

“Your’s,

“JOHN TEMPLETON.

“Orange Grove.”

TO JOHN TEMPLETON FROM T. R.

“*New Prison, Dublin, September 10, 1797.*

“DEAR JOHN—I was very much gratified by your kind letter which was sent by mistake to Kilmainham prison, but was forwarded to me here. I shall not say how much I value your friendship, that of people of virtue and talents is one of the greatest blessings of this life. I was pleased to find that I was sometimes in your thoughts, in your excursions, viewing the beauty and wonders of creation; and you will think my situation now pleasant to me, when I tell you that having been in this prison within a few days of a year, I have not during that time seen even a bush or a blade of grass, except a few that grow in the court of the prison. I suppose, however, that I shall receive an increased enjoyment of those things I have been deprived of, when Providence thinks fit to restore me my liberty; be that period near or distant, or let what consequences may take place as to me, I would not change places with any one of those by whose means I am here, nor do I repent, nor would I alter any part of my political conduct, for I acted as well as I was able for the good of my country and of mankind, and I know that I shall ultimately be tried by an infallible, just, and merciful judge.

“Many thanks to you for your offer of bail, which if I stood in need of I should avail myself of, but if it

should be admitted it will be in Dublin, and as I have friends here ready for the purpose it would only be putting you to unnecessary trouble and expense.

“ I was much concerned at that part of your letter which mentioned McDonnell’s illness, the consequence of the fever hospital. I trust I shall soon hear of his total recovery. I have not heard, this length of time, if Mrs. McD. is recovering fast. In regard to the infection of fever, I was thinking of some experiment about it when in Belfast, it would be easy to fill a bottle with the air of a room in which there were many infected persons. Mr. Tytler observed—that the infection was of a sluggish nature, and clung to the walls, bed-clothes, &c., rather than occupied the centre of the room, and, therefore, it should be taken near the bed ; if this was analysed carefully it might be of service in epidemic disorders. Mr. Morreau recommends the vapour of marine acid, disengaged by vitriolic acid, as a means of purifying masses of infected air, and he asserts that it has been used twice with success at Dijon, and it is recommended for that purpose in many continental works ; he was led to this by observing that the smell arising from putrid substances is much more dangerous than is commonly imagined. A mouse enclosed in a vessel containing twenty-four cubic inches of air tainted by putrefaction died in three minutes, whereas one enclosed in the same quantity of common air lived seven hours, so that the death of an animal of the same strength was one hundred and thirty-nine times quicker in one than the other ; this odour is composed of an acrid and fetid oil, and of volatile alkali, which raises the oil ; the first degree of putrefaction has but little smell, as the alkali is, in part, retained, and the latter stage has as little, for there remains nothing but fixed principles ; if lime be thrown on it it lessens the smell, which is totally destroyed if the vapour of marine acid is in the air to seize the alkali ; now if this was tried with the infected air it might be of use. I have read in some recent work that the fumes of nitrous acid have

been found efficacious in purifying air from feverish infection, and think it a subject of such importance that it should be followed up with ardour, as countries subject to such dreadful disorders as the plague, might be benefitted.....

“ I understand from Mrs. Simms, that she gave you some flower seeds and fossils, which were sent to me from America. I hope you have reared the flowers, and should be glad if you would send me an account of them, if they are worth it, and likewise of any new pursuit you may be engaged in. I am very glad to find from your letter that the library is still afloat, I am sure it will, ultimately, be a fine institution for the province, and, perhaps, the whole country. What has been done as to our fossils? I hope they are arranged and put out of the way of meddling ignorant people.

“ I have found many facts in support of my opinions in mineralogy in Mr. Palla’s Travels on the Caspian and Sea of Asoph. I wish you would take care of Tytler’s Historical Register, as there is no other extant, and I want to have a thing about lightning, and two or three other articles re-printed.

“ The weather here is cold, rainy, and tempestuous, to a great degree, and I apprehend will injure the harvest much; perhaps it is influenced by the comet which is now observed; of old, people expected great events, not in the natural, but in the moral and political world, from such phenomena; whether this one portends any such, is to be seen. I hope if it does, that it is of a benign aspect; if what I read of it be true it has something of a revolutionary appearance, as it has a very short tail, or, in other words, is a croppy. I think General Lake and his satellites would do well to have an eye on it, but as this is a political subject we must be cautious.

“ I would be glad if you would get me one or two of the pamphlets which I published a little before my surrender, and if a safe opportunity occurs, to send them. Remember me kindly to my friends at Orange

Grove. I shan't, I believe, taste of the conversation or of the fruits of it this year.

" I am told that the Irish music is finished. I have no doubt that it will have great success, and raise the reputation of the collectors of the Institution which brought it forward. I have got to the end of my paper, so farewell,

" And believe me ever,

" Your sincere friend,

" THOMAS RUSSELL.

" To Mr. John Templeton,

" Orange Grove, Belfast."

FROM J. TEMPLETON TO T. R.

" *Orange Grove, Jan. 29, 1798.*

DEAR SIR—I have long expected a letter from you, and could not account for your being so extremely busy, as not to find time to write to me, during two or three months; however, I the other day heard, with great concern, that you had a severe illness. This, indeed, accounts for your seeming forgetfulness. I hope, however, by this time, you are recovered so far as to be able to let me know how you are. I have been told that you might get out of confinement if you would make application to government, but that you look upon yourself as the injured person, and that they ought to make an apology to you. I doubt this is what you can hardly expect, for although I am pretty confident you were taken up merely on suspicion, or that your only crime is the publication of the pamphlet to which you affixed your name, and that, in all probability, you will never be brought to trial, yet any apology is what you will, most likely, never receive, and I am extremely sorry you are sacrificing your life to *punctilio*. And when you do regain your liberty, which I sincerely hope will soon happen, do not forget, in your joy for that event, to make application for the restoration of your papers, as they have, no doubt, been all read by this time. I think there will be no pretext

for keeping them, for I can hardly suppose that memorandums relative to Natural History, of which I believe they all consisted, can be of any use to any person but the one who wrote them.

“ I have lately read Townson’s Travels through Hungary with great satisfaction; they contain many curious observations in Natural History, in my favorite department—Botany, although they relate principally to your favorite Mineralogy. I find from this author, that Mineralogists are divided into two sects—Neptunists and Vulcanists. Dr. Townson is of the first sect, which I think is greatly increasing in numbers; this will, no doubt, give you great pleasure, as I know you belong to that class; he mentions burnt granite near Erland, page 219. I have sent some of all its varieties, together with our phosphoric limestone and puzzolane, to the British Museum. He also mentions a strong fact in favour of the Neptunic Theory, page 393, viz. :—

“ ‘ In the Polish Salt Mines of Wiegliczha, two bivalved shells were found thirty-six feet deep, a crab’s claw forty fathoms, and a piece of charcoal mixed with salt and gypsum at one hundred fathoms deep. From these travels, Hungary appears to be a most interesting country to a Naturalist. In it is found almost all the European animals, plants, and minerals. I think the formation of salt mines has been by the filling of some cavern or hollow with salt water, and that while the water was allowed to percolate through the Earth the salt particles were retained. By travels through Wales, by one Arthur Aiken, I find that the component parts of the Welch mountains are, for the most part, the same as those of Morne, and, what is somewhat pleasing to me, he has adopted the same theory to account for their formation which I did on seeing Morne mountains.’

“ Believe me, ever,

“ Yours very truly,

(Signed)

“ JOHN TEMPLETON,

“ Orange Grove.

“ To Mr. Thos. Russell, Dublin.”



## FROM T. R. TO J. TEMPLETON.

“ *New Prison, Dublin, Feb. 14, 1798.*

“ I certainly could, if I wished, esteemed friend, make a pretext of my illness for not having answered your letter of the 16th of October last; but I had time before that to have done it, and since my recovery. But I will tell the truth. I have always had an aversion to writing, and this has grown on me here; and the excuse I made to myself was, that I was waiting to hear something decisive as to my situation. This is the fact; and it was neither want of regard, nor want of attention to the subjects your letters treat of. My illness was only of three days duration, but for part of the time so severe, that I thought it would have been my last: my recovery has likewise been speedy.

“ In regard of what you mention, that ‘ I could get my enlargement by application to government, but that I want an apology from them;’ your information has been erroneous. I have repeatedly and recently applied, by letter, to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Pelham, to be brought to trial, or liberated, but no attention has been paid to my demand. Neither my religion nor my reason would suffer me to sacrifice my health and my talents (such as they are) to *punctilio*; and for a man to look for personal atonement to his pride or his feelings, from a government by which such dreadful tragedies have been, and still continue to be, acted in this unhappy country, it would afford no great proof of his judgment or his patriotism. I have often demanded my papers, but to no effect. They relate almost exclusively to science, and some to a work on history, which I had planned four years ago, and for which I made many extracts, memoranda, &c. &c.; the rest were letters from my friends and relations, notes of my own opinions, conduct, and such like; all of ‘ no use but to the owner.’

“ I use the advertisement style. You are right in supposing the government have no charge against me—they make no secret of this. Mr. Pelham has

declared it. I am only thought to be dangerous. What folly!

“ I have been answering your last letter of the 29th ult. first in order. I should much like to see the travels in Hungary, which you mention. It must be one of the finest countries in the world. The circumstance of the bivalved shells being found in the salt mines is curious. What you say of the watery theory of the formation of the earth, in opposition to the volcanic, in this, and in your former letter, implies that I am of that opinion; but, indeed, I am of no theory except the account contained in the Scriptures, which I conceive to be consistent with the wisdom and power of the Creator, and agreeable to the present appearances of the world. It was those theories which are inconsistent with revelation, and were used as arguments against it, that led me to consider them. The result of what occurred to me, I hope to converse with you on; or, perhaps, when more experience has been acquired, I shall make a treatise of it.

“ I am very glad to find, that you continue to increase your stock of drawings, which I hope you design for the use of your own country. I expect, when we meet, that you will have much to impart to me. I am told, that the plan of the Botanic Garden, in this city, is on an admirable plan. There is some truth of Dr. Mitchel's being appointed professor of natural history. I wish it may be true, as he is a man of real science. His attention to me, as a friend, has been such, during my confinement, as I cannot ever forget. I have got this day, Staunton's account of the Embassy to China, but have not got far enough to judge of it. I wish you to tell M'Donnell, that I still think the clay which Wedgewood uses for his thermometers, could be usefully applied to make pendulums for time-keepers. Its property of contracting by heat, would render its length absolutely unalterable; and if it was exposed to a sufficient heat, it could be made harder and less brittle than glass, of which Ryder used to make them. If Ryder is still in the

town, I would wish you to speak again to him, and let me know what he thinks.

“ You have, I suppose, heard of Mr. Neilson’s release. I don’t know when my time may come. After having been so long in answering your letter, I have no right to expect a speedy answer ; but the sooner it comes, the more agreeable it will be to me, and I will in future be more punctual.

“ My best regards to my friends in Orange Grove. Perhaps we may have a journey this summer, which would be of use to me ; for the pain in my heart requires it. Will you mention to M’Donnell, that of late, I am apt to spit blood in a morning, just before I rise, which is of a very vivid crimson, and what he would advise. Between ourselves, I look on it as a very bad symptom.

“ We have got a great lord in this house, for a libel. He is in the room under me ; so I am in high company. I will send you some remarks on the lives of animals the first opportunity ; and I am planning two or three things, but am very lazy. I have, however, thought on the subject, so that when I do write, I shall not be long about it.

“ Believe me your sincere friend,

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.

“ To Mr. J. Templeton, Belfast.”

FROM T. R. TO J. TEMPLETON.

“ *Fort George, Sept. 2, 1800.*

“ MY DEAR FRIEND—Mr. Patten, the brother-in-law of my friend Emmet, and who will give you this, whose bent, as well as yours, is to natural philosophy, wishes for your acquaintance. In introducing men of virtue and talents to each other, I trust I confer a mutual benefit. I hope he will see along with you, your gardens, which always pleased me more than any of the finished places I have seen.

“ I was very happy to hear of your marriage, though I have not yet the pleasure of knowing but by

report, the partner of, I trust, your felicity. If it is as long and as great as my wishes, you may be content.

“ The conduct of you and your friends to my almost destitute relation, since I left Ireland, has been such as I can never forget, nor sufficiently repay, but in gratitude.

“ I suppose you have made great progress in your pursuits : if so, I wish you would send me the results. I have heard, but imperfectly, that you have published something, I believe, in the Linnæan Society : if so, send it to me.....

“ I enclose a tune for my friend Bunting, which I beg you to give him ; it is one I do not recollect him to have had. My best regards to your sister and Mrs. M'Gee.

“ It will, I am sure, give you pleasure to hear, that my long imprisonment does not prevent my being in perfect health. My wishes for my friends and my country are unaltered and unalterable ; so are my opinions.

“ I trust we shall again, in Ireland, make some pleasant journeys, contemplating the works of nature, and adoring its Divine Author.

“ Your sincere friend,

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.”

FROM T. R. TO JOHN TEMPLETON.

“ *Fort George, June 3, 1802.*

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,—Government having determined to send the state prisoners from this, in a man-of-war, to Hamburgh, and it being my present intention to remain on the Continent of Europe, I shall request of you to procure me, from your literary friends in London, letters of introduction to some of the literati of France and Holland, as I wish to see something of the present state of science, after so long a seclusion from the world. If you can procure such letters, let them be forwarded to Hamburgh, as, by what I can learn, it is uncertain whether I shall remain here long enough to receive an answer. I wish much, however, to hear from you ; should I be gone,

the letter will, I am sure, be sent after me, and you may write likewise to Hamburg. I wish you to point out any objects that it may be interesting to you to have an account of, (or of any of your scientific friends,) and I shall pay the greatest attention; and I will further expect that you will point out to me such objects of pursuit as you think most useful. I would write to M'Donnell, but, having twice done so, and receiving no answer, (the last the 16th, ult.) I conclude they have miscarried, or that something is the matter with him. In the last, I desired him to make a request of you, which, the peculiar circumstances I am placed in, render necessary, and which, on that account, I hope you will excuse; I shall write again before I go. I had hoped to have had the happiness of seeing you, and my other true friends, immediately; but it has been otherwise ordained, and the dispensations of Providence are dutifully to be submitted to. Whether this separation is to continue for this life, or a certain time, I trust you and my friends will find me unaltered in my sentiments and objects of action. My best regards to your family, and my friends. Believe me, with sincere esteem and regard,

“Your friend,

“THOMAS RUSSELL.

“To Mr. J. Templeton.”

FROM T. R. TO J. TEMPLETON.

“*Fort George, June 5, 1802.*”

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—The gentleman who carries this, will go this evening, I must, therefore, be brief in what I say. My devoting my whole time to the cause of liberty, has left me without fortune. I am about to be sent to a place where I am unknown; I have, therefore, to beg, that you and M'Donnell will try to let me have, as soon as you can, a credit on that place for twenty pounds. I cannot find words to express how much I am grieved at being obliged to make it; and if it is inconvenient to be complied with, I beg you will think no more of it. Suspecting that

some such measure on the part of government would take place, I wrote to M<sup>r</sup>Donnell to this effect, the 16th of last month; but, having received no answer to that, or former letters, either he is not in Belfast, or never received them, for I have no notion it is a want of friendship, whatever difference there may be in our political opinions. Uncertainty, as to where he is, and want of time, prevent my now writing to him; I wish you would express this, and beg of him to get me letters from Kirwan, or any such friend, as my present intention is Paris. Respecting my literary pursuits, I neither have, nor mean to neglect them; but of these I can write to you by the post.

“ I shall only say a few words of my political ones; you live among the people, among whom I principally acted. To the people of Ireland I am responsible for my actions: amidst the uncertainty of life, this may be my valedictory letter: what has occasioned the temporary miscarriage of the Cause, is useless to dwell on. Providence orders all for the best. I am sure the people will never abandon that cause, and I am equally sure it will succeed. *But I fear that many were led so far astray, as to think favourably of the usurpation of Bonaparte, which tramples on liberty in France, suspends its progress in the world, and madly attempts its total destruction. If that predilection was extensive, it certainly was very fortunate that no revolution took place; for there would have been no change, but a change of masters, when such was the disposition of the people; the delusion is, I trust, done away with, and we shall never again act on the principle, that ‘we may do evil that good may come.’* TO SUCH AS HAD THE MISFORTUNE TO CONNECT THE CAUSE OF IRRELIGION WITH THAT OF LIBERTY, I BEG THEM ATTENTIVELY TO CONSIDER FRANCE, FOR SOME YEARS PAST, GOVERNED BY PROFESSED ATHEISTS AND DEISTS, TO SEE THEM INTRODUCING BOUNDLESS PROFLIGACY BY THEIR MARRIAGE LAWS, sending others to the scaffold; and now a remnant of them, with detestable hypocrisy, trying to establish their

power, endeavouring to bind the French, by other chains, to the feet of tyranny. I TRUST THIS DELUSION IS LIKEWISE OVER, AND THAT MEN WILL SEE THE ONLY TRUE BASIS OF LIBERTY IS MORALITY, AND THE ONLY STABLE BASIS OF MORALITY IS RELIGION.\* I trust that the error of supposing that the affairs of the world can be tranquillized in their present form, does not obtain amongst my friends—this is a most awful crisis—may they be found doing their duty, by exerting themselves to extend virtue and liberty.

“ I must now speak of myself. The situation must excuse the egotism :—so far from conceiving the cause of Ireland lost, or being weary of its pursuit, I am more than ever, if possible, inflexibly bent on it, for that, I stay (if I can stay) in Europe ; all the faculties I possess shall be exercised for its advancement ; for that, I wished to go to Ireland, not to reside, but to see how I shall be able to serve it, and that I can only know when at large. Every motive exists to stimulate the generous mind,—the widows and orphans of my friends, the memory of the heroes who fell, and the sufferings of the heroes who survive. My very soul is on fire ; I can say no more.

“ Farewell, my dear friend, I beg to be affectionately remembered to your family ; and believe me always to participate in whatever contributes to your happiness. Give my kindest and warmest regards to Miss Mary M'Cracken, and all the good family. Remember me, affectionately, to Bunting. I have a copy of his music with me, and will do all I can to introduce it to notice. You will best know to whom I would be remembered ;. assure them of my best regards. You will see, from the nature of my views, that I wish to be extensively recommended, and you will do what you can to forward it. Mr. Neilson's son returns to Ireland. Now, I wish you to know

\* On this sentiment, the claim of Russell's memory to respect and honour, may be set up, and left with confidence to posterity.

the boy ; he is a very extraordinary child ; I am sure your acquaintance would improve him. I should add, that *his father participates in my sentiments*, and, indeed, all here who are known to you. They are almost universal among us.

“ Your affectionate and sincere friend,

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.

“ To Mr. John Templeton.”

FROM J. TEMPLETON TO T. R.

“ *Orange-grove, Belfast, June 9, 1802.*

“ DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to find by your letter, which I received last night, the intention of transporting you to the Continent. From what I can see or hear, there is little danger to apprehend another rebellion in Ireland, until the past is completely forgotten. A mutual jealousy subsists between all descriptions. The poor will not readily trust the rich, nor the rich the poor; each thinking the other acting under the immediate influence of self-interest; indeed, the late events were certainly the touchstone of men’s hearts, and often developed the most hateful springs of action.

“ We have seen every virtue laid aside, and in their place every vice that can deform the human species; and, added to this, every friend to liberty has before his eyes a multitude, who, with enthusiasm, worshipped the goddess, and hailed her as the rising sun, that was to enable them to enjoy every happiness; yet, dazzled by the blaze of victory, and the pomp and pageantry of regal shows, they forget the blood that flowed from their friends and countrymen, and, with exultation, submit to a fortunate usurper.

“ I am sorry it is not in my power to procure you any letters of introduction on the Continent; my English friends would scarcely interest themselves so much for myself, and much less on my requesting it for another.

“ Dr. M’Donnell gave me the last letter he received



from you, as he thought it more particularly addressed to me. I would have answered it sooner, but various things delayed the accomplishment of my wishes.

“ Believe me,

“ Yours, sincerely,

“ JOHN TEMPLETON.

“ To Mr. Thomas Russell,

“ Fort George, Scotland.”

FROM T. R. TO JOHN TEMPLETON.

“ *Fort George, Scotland, June 15, 1802.*

“ DEAR SIR,—I yesterday received yours of the 9th, instant, with its contents; for yours, and every other friend’s kind remembrance, I beg you will accept my best thanks, and express it to them. In addition to what I have already written, I have only to add, that the ‘Ariadne’ frigate is now at anchor in this harbour, for the purpose of conveying us to Hamburgh. We wait, as I understand, only for the arrival of a King’s Messenger, who is hourly expected, so that this, in all probability, will be the last letter I shall write in this country. Should my stay on the Continent be long, in case I meet with any objects of a scientific nature, which I think may be useful or new to you, I shall not fail to let you know; and, speaking now of science, and, indeed, of all human pursuits, I shall observe, that to argue against any of them, on account of the manner in which they have been abused, never appears to me fair, it would apply to every faculty of the body and of the mind, for they have all been, at times, perverted to foolish and wicked pursuits, and none more than reason itself.

“ *To separate the use from the abuse, is the province of wisdom and virtue.*

“ Believe me,

“ Truly yours,

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.

“ To John Templeton,

“ Orange-grove, Belfast.”

## CHAPTER VI.

OF Russell's poetical pieces, written in Fort George, the two following may convey some idea of the current of his thoughts, and of the influence which circumstances of a domestic nature exerted over his feelings :

## ERIN'S ADDRESS TO CALEDONIA.

BY THOMAS RUSSELL.

*Written in Fort George.*

Illustrious land in days of yore,  
 Famed Caledonia,—now attend,  
 Erin invokes you from her shore,  
 Erin your sister, and your friend.  
 Your faded wreaths, your blasted fame,  
 Though now with anguish I behold ;  
 Yet hear me, with prophetic flame,  
 Your lofty destiny unfold.

Alike our fate, no foreign force  
 Could ere our valiant race subdue ;  
 The Roman Eagles stopped their course  
 When near our rugged cliffs they drew ;  
 While Union was our country's boast  
 The gallant conquering Romans failed ;  
 When discord hovered o'er our coast  
 A cruel sordid foe prevailed.

What filled my bosom with despair ?  
 My sons in frantic strife engage ?  
 What forged the galling chains I bear ?  
 Not English force but Irish rage ;  
 And in one fatal, fatal hour,  
 By factious Chiefs betrayed and sold,  
 Not force, but fraud, destroyed your power,  
 Not England's steel, but England's gold.

But now to glorious days I turn,  
 My conscious bosom swells with joy,  
 No more my sons with discord burn,  
 No more her country's rights destroy :  
 For sacred union joins each mind,  
 One great resolve pervades the band,  
 To spread the freedom of mankind  
 And foreign aid expel the land.

And can your sons, for war renowned,  
 Endure that hostile feet should tread,—  
 Should spurn the consecrated ground  
 Where Fletcher spoke, and Wallace bled?  
 Like us unite and in the field,  
 Full soon shall haughty England feel,  
 That fraud to valour still must yield,  
 And India's gold to Carron's steel.

When Fletcher's eloquence and fire  
 Shall o'er your senate spread their charms,  
 And gallant Wallace shall inspire  
 Your generous youth to deeds of arms;  
 And round your standard, once unfurled,  
 Shall heroes throng with ardent eyes,  
 And midst the nations of the world  
 Again shall Caledonia rise.

When spotless honour, radiant truth,  
 The matron, and the blooming maid,  
 And reverend age, and playful youth,  
 Shall rest secure beneath its shade;  
 And peace shall o'er the cottage bend,  
 Nor humble roofs shall science scorn,  
 And mercy's wings shall wide extend,  
 And holy faith your fanes adorn.

When borne by warriors of my isle,  
 On Antrim's cliffs green standards fly,  
 Then on the hills of famed Argyle  
 Wave, wave the Scottish banner high;  
 And soon shall tyranny, and fear,  
 And war, and rapine, fade away  
 As mists and darkness disappear  
 Before the blazing orb of day.

And loud as awful thunder roars,  
 We'll then proclaim, from side to side,  
 Re-echoed by the sounding shout  
 And wafted by the circling tide:  
 "Here justice now triumphant reigns,  
 And never shall our children see  
 Our rocks, our scaffolds, or our plains  
 Stained with the blood of liberty."

The following lines were written in Fort George, by  
 Thomas Russell, on Mrs. Emmet's visit to her husband:

Companions so brave, who in evil thus meet  
 For the glorious endeavour our country to free,  
 Amidst all our sufferings such moments are sweet,  
 When brothers in bonds still united can be.

May Providence graciously grant this request—

May we live, our dear country triumphant to see !  
Or if this is too much, and it should be judged best,  
May our deaths, like our lives, serve dear Ireland to free !

How delightful the thought, that an object so great,  
Embracing the rights, and the freedom of all,  
Can thus in a prison such transports create,  
And in exile itself can our country recall ;  
That you who endeavour these rights to ensure,  
By arts, or by eloquence, science or arms,  
To courage, like your's, find affections so pure,  
And virtue and beauty, devoting their charms.

A letter from Thomas Russell to some friend whose name is not mentioned, gives a very plain view of the feelings with which he went into exile, and the designs which were then passing through his mind, with respect to a renewal of his efforts for the cause whose defeat he looked upon only as a temporary one.

*“ Fort George, June 5, 1802.*

“ MY DEAR—I am now going to be exiled without being allowed to see my friends : I feel honoured by this mark of fear or suspicion of government.\*.....If I am to judge, from some things I have heard, a sort of suspension of political action obtains in the great towns. I hope this not to be true, but if it is, these men will find the cause of liberty will not stop for them. I do not think England can commercially stand the peace, if a peace it can be called, for I think it a hollow truce. I do not think the present government of France can long stand, and I am sure the people of Ireland, that are determined to be free, are capable of becoming so. I look on the cause of liberty, on the eve of breaking out, with fresh vigour. I really think her suspension will be of use. Who would, when I left Ireland, have dreamed of hearing such a usurpation as that of Buonaparte, justified by men

\* Here, some matter, relating solely to pecuniary affairs, is omitted.

espousing the cause of freedom, when the representatives of the nation were driven out by the bayonet; if such opinions were entertained, and a revolution took place, it would only be a change of masters, but, thank heaven, that delusion must be over, and principles will now be resorted to. Ireland stands on *better* ground than ever; by our union, the people were taught to love each other, to know their strength and valour in the field—by their defeat they have been brought to know their friends, and not less important, to know their *enemies*, and are now ready to resume the contest, and that successfully, when there comes a favourable opportunity of so doing. To accelerate that, by exerting every faculty of my mind and body, is my determination. How I can do that best, I can only know when I am at large, and, for it, I wish for letters of recommendation as extensive as you can procure—so far from being tired of the pursuit of liberty, or esteeming it a phantom, my attachments strengthen every day—I have no more doubt of the success, than I have of the justice of the cause. I was disappointed at the determination, which prevents my seeing my friends previous to my departure, but, as you may well suppose, I have not the intention of residing with them, unless with a probability of action. Who, indeed, that entertained our opinions, and did not expect better days for our country, could live to insult the memory of the heroes who fell for Ireland, by trampling on their unhonoured graves? who that knew that colossal power was shaken from its summit to its base, by the gallant peasantry of a few counties, ill-armed, and ill-led, could ever cease to promote a general and effectual movement? who could walk the streets of your city and see the houses, where the *free* legislators of a great and good people *should* now be sitting, abandoned by its mock parliament, and converted into a temple of mammon, and not wish the earth to gape and swallow him up, to save him from witnessing such unparalleled infamy and disgrace? But these

are not our feelings : we will continue to promote the cause of virtue, and liberty, with every prospect of success, and with the certainty that should we fall, as many of our gallant friends have, our Lord and Saviour will, in eternal life, reward those who laboured for the welfare and happiness of mankind. Praying him to preserve you and all my friends, and crown your labours with success,

“ I am your sincere obliged friend,  
“ T. R.”

P.S.—“ Neilson and Cuthbert desire to be remembered to you and Wilson, I need scarcely say their sentiments, and those of all the prisoners I know, are all the same.

“ T. R.”

The state prisoners were at length liberated on the 30th of June, 1802 ; Russell had undergone an imprisonment of five years and nine months without a trial, and by the acknowledgment of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Pelham, without any specific information against him, and was then thrown on the world, in a foreign country, without friends or resources, a ruined man. He landed at Cuxhaven, the 4th of July, and soon after proceeded to Rotterdam, in company with his friends, T. A. Emmet, and Messrs. Wilson, Sweeny, and Cormick. Russell arrived in Paris about the middle of August, 1802. The mere circumstance of Russell's close intimacy with Emmet, “ in the society of whose delightful family he had such great pleasure,” (to use his own words to his brother,) is a sufficient proof that his conduct and character were such as to win Emmet's estimation ; and Emmet's opinions on such subjects are found to stand the test of time, and generally to have been well founded. Russell remained in Paris at the house of a Mrs. Delaney, an old Irish lady, long settled in that city,\* whose husband

\* *Qr.*—Was this lady connected to the Malachy Delaney, the supposed betrayer of Robert Emmet ?

had held a high situation in some government department. In October, 1802, Captain John Russell went to Paris to see his brother. He was then living in a very retired manner. A few months later, many of the other leaders had entered the French service, but Russell appears to have had no desire to accept a commission in the French army. He entertained the same opinion of the French government, and of Buonaparte at that period, as his friend Emmet did a little later.

William Henry Hamilton, who had married a daughter of Captain John Russell, was then in Paris. Hamilton was a young man of talent, his father, Mr. Johnston Hamilton, was a Solicitor of respectability in Enniskillen, and had given his son a good education. Young Hamilton had a passion for theatricals,\* and considerable ability both as an actor and an author. His qualifications of this kind, and his acquirements and information, procured him the acquaintance of the family of the Earl of Enniskillen, and ultimately the patronage of the Lord, who employed him in raising men for a yeomanry corps, in which regiment, when completed, Hamilton was to have a commission. In the mean time, at a public meeting at Enniskillen, where it was proposed to make an application to the government to have the country placed under martial law, Hamilton opposed the proposition of the "Delzos" of Fermanagh, and the consequence was, that the great chief of Orangeism in that country, the Earl of Enniskillen, withdrew his protection and acquaintance, which might be termed intimacy, from William Henry Hamilton. Hamilton finding his legitimate opposition to the terrorists of Enniskillen, and their Turco-Hibernian Bashaws, was set down as an act of rebellion against the majesty of the "Shoneen" magistracy of that hot bed of Orangeism, quit his native place, and proceeded to Dublin. After some time he went to

\* A dramatic piece interspersed with songs, called "The Lough Earne Farmer," is said to have been written by him, at least the chief part of it was written by him.

London, with the view of devoting himself to the study of the law, kept his terms there, and, as his relatives state, was called to the bar. In the spring of 1798, he went to France on a political mission, some extraordinary reference to which will be found in the evidence given on O'Connor's trial. From that period his life was one of extraordinary vicissitudes, adventures, and escapes from danger. He was one of the few Irishmen in Hardy's unfortunate expedition, who had the good fortune to escape the fate of the Tones and Teeling. Hamilton was taken prisoner, closely examined, and suspected from his muscular conformation, of not being what he represented himself to be, a Frenchman. For the purpose of assuming the appearance of a Frenchman he sported an ear-ring. He had fortunately gone through the operation, previously to his embarkation in France, of having one of his ears pierced. The ear-ring he wore, Tone says, was the means of saving his life when first examined on board a ship. But subsequently he owed his safety to the kindness of a fellow prisoner, a french officer of Grenadiers, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, who forced Hamilton to change apparel with him, and to this circumstance he attributed his being passed as one of the French prisoners, who were sent to England, and shortly afterwards exchanged. The details of the negotiations that were then carrying on between certain of the Leinster leaders and the Government of France, belong to the memoir of Robert Emmet, here it is only necessary to add, that Russell belonged to that party whose members had no faith in the French Government, and no opinion of the honesty of its intentions towards Ireland.

Robert Emmet arrived in Paris from Amsterdam, (where he had been to visit his brother, T. A. Emmet,) either in the month of September, or October, 1802. It is not necessary, in this memoir, to enter into those particulars, respecting the co-operation which Robert Emmet had been led to expect, both at home and abroad, it is here requisite only to state, that on the



strength of that expectation, Thomas Russell was induced to embark in Robert Emmet's undertaking. Robert Emmet, and Russell, at a conference held soon after the arrival of the latter, concurring in opinion that the majority of their countrymen were still unchanged in their sentiments, with respect to the cause of the United Irishmen, and considering what they had already suffered by looking to France for effectual assistance, *they determined on listening to proposals which began at this time to be broached in a mysterious manner by persons of rank and influence, hitherto supposed to be covert friends of the United Irish system, both at home and abroad.* At the commencement, Robert Emmet was not the chief agent, nor could he at any time, previous to his departure from Paris, be considered more than the confidential person employed by a party, who contrived throughout the whole business to keep in the back ground, sounding persons supposed to be favourable to a renewed struggle. It is needless to say, the undertaking met with Russell's approbation, and, as Robert Emmet was about returning to Ireland, it was agreed that Russell should be daily informed of the progress of affairs in Ireland, and acquainted when it would be necessary for him to return. Robert Emmet arrived in Dublin towards the end of November, 1802, he was joined there in a few weeks, after his arrival, by Hamilton, and Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, whom he had left in Paris. Dowdall had quitted Paris previously to Emmet's departure, and gone to London, where he had communication with Colonel Despard, and previously to the arrest of the latter, had proceeded to Dublin. Hamilton was sent back to Paris to bring over Russell.\* The latter passed through London on his way to Ireland, and remained for a few days at a friend's house in that city.

One day, on crossing over Westminster Bridge,

\* J. Hope was sent, by Robert Emmet, to a friend of his, still living, for a bill of a hundred pounds. The greater part of which sum was to give to Hamilton to bring Russell over from France.

some stoppage took place, when Russell observed a person, who had put his head out of a carriage-window, gazing earnestly at him. So soon as he caught Russell's eye, he instantly threw himself back in the carriage. Russell hurried on to his friend's house, and said to the wife of the gentleman referred to,—“take your scissors, and cut off this long hair of mine; for that — J. Claudius Beresford has seen me on Westminster Bridge. I must leave London to-night. In all probability, Townsend will pay you a visit to-morrow.”

At Liverpool, he called on an old friend, and remained with him one night. He came to his house so thoroughly disguised, that his friend did not at first recognise him. The first account I have of Russell's being in Dublin is, of his being an inmate of the house in Butterfield-lane, in the month of April, 1803. There he remained for some weeks, seldom going abroad except by night. At length, some untoward occurrences induced the conspirators to fix an earlier day than had been appointed, for the accomplishment of their designs. Russell, with the title of general, to have the chief command of all the forces in the North, was despatched to Ulster,\* accompanied by the man whose services were called into requisition on every emergency of extraordinary peril, and where extraordinary prudence, as well as fidelity, was required—James Hope.

## CHAPTER VII.

The following is James Hope's account of the des-

\* Russell, on his first arrival, made a journey to the North. His chief object was, to ascertain the state of feeling in the neighbourhood of Antrim. He only remained in the North two nights and one day; that is, he passed through Belfast in the night, spent one day in Antrim, and repassed through Belfast on his return to Dublin, the succeeding night. He held no communication with any person in Belfast.

perate mission on which he accompanied Russell, on his second journey to the North :—

“ Russell’s visit to the North on his first arrival, however cautious he may have been, gave rise to some general rumours of meditated disturbances, which reached the ears of government. A Belfast Roman Catholic, (James M’Gucken), was sent to me, in Dublin, when I was residing there, on the Coombe, to learn their nature and extent, (whom, his executors say, got £10,000 for the information he gave to government); but he had to return home, after a fruitless attempt, and another as fruitless, to have me arrested, for having refused him the information he wanted. Russell and I set out for the North at the appointed time. We crossed the Boyne near Duleek, and stopped three miles short of Dundalk until evening. We then proceeded on our route to Newry; and so far from his having been discouraged and cast down, from his having a fall in a field, when he injured two of his fingers, (as M’Skimmin asserts), his spirits were the same as ever, till we reached the place where his old friend, Miss Bess Goddard, lived, (no longer Miss Goddard); and when we came opposite the house, he stopped, and said he remembered a strange dream of his, in 1796, when he was passing that house a state prisoner, having fallen asleep in the coach, and on awaking, finding they had stopped there to refresh the prisoners. When he entered the inn, he walked up and down very pensively; and on my speaking to him, he said—‘ Oh, nothing! I was only thinking of old events, and my dream when last here.’”\*

\* M’Skimmin gives his account of the fall and the feelings said to be occasioned by it, as a proof of Russell’s fatuity. He then narrates a circumstance, which never happened, of Russell meeting some horsemen at Newry, which terrified him, and rendered it necessary for his companion to rally him, and to remonstrate with warmth on the subject. So that Russell is made out for the English readers of “ M’Skimmin’s Secret History of the Irish Insurrection,” a fanatic, a fool, and a poltroon. James Hope was a very likely man to league himself with such a character! Emmet, of course, was a

“ When Russell went to Belfast the second time, his enemies were on the alert. He had been promised a stout guard of county Down men to meet him at Newry ; and after waiting there one day and two nights, he and I took a carriage for Hillsborough, and walked from that, by a bye road, to Knockbrecken, within a few miles of Belfast, where he was visited by the ex-general of Antrim, (Robert Simms), who had been his fellow-prisoner, and some gentlemen whose names I never knew. The Northerns, in general, are a wary race of men, whose wariness, when mis-directed, can be turned at times, to the purpose of the enemy. Agents were among them, advising them to wait until they would see how the South would act. An officer had been sent to the county Cavan, to direct the movements in that quarter ;\* but on Russell being apprised of the blowing up of one of Emmet’s stores, in Dublin, he sent for him to come and join him, lest a rising in that central county might prove disastrous. Russell had a meeting with his former confidential friends of Belfast on his arrival, at which the ex-general’s brother attended, and some others ; but nothing appeared among them but timidity, and a desire to know what only concerned spies. This was on Tuesday, and a meeting was appointed for the following Friday evening. However, a few who had been appointed formerly by the people, met on the Friday, and agreed to hold themselves in readiness to act with any body of the people that might appear ; but wished to know in what number, and in what direction, they would approach Belfast.

“ We were all beset by spies and informers,—the

very likely man to place his whole trust in the hands of a driveller and a coward !

Thomas Russell, and his friend, were never met nor overtaken by any individual ; and on reaching Newry, talked of the singular circumstance, that they had not met any one on the route. This I state on Hope’s authority.—R. R. M.

\* Hamilton.

principal leaders in particular. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was tracked and sneaked after by them; but Lord Edward's misfortune was, that among all his friends and followers, not one of them knew the grand secret of success—the scent of the enemy.

“ Russell said that no man could answer their questions, until the different bodies would be assembled; but recommended a few of them to keep together next day, and appointed an experienced officer to command the town,\* who would be informed in the evening of their numbers and place of assembly, and march by his direction into town.† He left an officer, William Henry Hamilton, to lead the people who were expected to rise, along the Carrickfergus shore. Some persons were then appointed to act as a council, in Belfast. Russell himself went with James Drake to Loughlin Island, who waited for him as a guide and assistant, and sent me as a guide and assistant to the officer down shore, (Hamilton), with advice, if the Belfast men should flinch, to proceed towards Ballymenagh. A deputation from Connor and Kells had waited on him, to request that he would give them an early opportunity of recovering the character which they had lost at Antrim, on the 7th of June, 1798. This was on Friday night, the 22nd of June, on the same day when Russell set off, accompanied by James Drake, for Loughlin Island. The next day, Saturday, Hamilton sent a messenger into town, from a place where he stopped on the road leading from Belfast to Carrickfergus, and received an answer from Stephen Wall to this effect—“ Let the people mind their work, the town will not act.” He then went to

\* Stephen Wall, who had been in the Tipperary militia, and was afterwards entrusted with the drill of the Belfast Merchants' Corps of Yeomanry.

† Russell, at the Belfast meeting, is said by M'Skimmin, to have made a long speech, and to have talked a great deal of trash about liberty and equality. The fact is, Russell was no phrase maker. He made no speeches; and the words put into his mouth by M'Skimmin, were never used by him.—R. R. M.

Kells, where he met some young men who were in high spirits and seemingly eager for action. At Craigvally he had an interview with two of the subordinate leaders of 1798—Cornelius Magee and Charles M'Donald. A messenger had been sent from Kells to Ballymenagh, but the treachery of Belfast was there before him with news to Dr. Thompson, that was true, that "the town had refused to act," and, what was not true, that "Russell was gone to Dublin to prevent a rising there," on which the men all dispersed and left Hamilton and two friends on the field. They went to a farmer's house and stopped until morning, and then went to Slemish, where they met some men from the parishes of Carrmoney and Templepatrick, but not in sufficient numbers for any undertaking. Hamilton saw no hope of success and went, with a gentleman, to Glenalvy, where he remained for one day, and then went to Skirry, in the Braid, until he found the people afraid to have him in their houses at night; he then took to the mountains at night and got into the houses in the day for rest and refreshment. In a few weeks the alarm subsided, and he made his way to the County Monaghan, and was eventually betrayed, as it was generally believed, by an attorney named Shegog, and sent prisoner to Dublin, where he remained a state prisoner until the death of Pitt, never having been brought to trial. While he remained with the people, trusting to their honour, he was safe enough.

"He was liberated in 1806, with the rest of the state prisoners, was employed for several years on newspapers in Dublin, and for a long time edited the *Evening Post*. He went to South America in General Devereux's unfortunate expedition in 1820, and died in that country, at Santa Anna, in 1826. He left an only son, who is still living.\*

\* Hamilton was about fifty-five years of age when he fell a victim to a fever at Santa Anna. He is described, in an advertisement offering a reward of £300 for his apprehension—"About six feet high, slender make, fair complexion, strong beard, large dark blue

“ Russell, finding all his efforts fail, made his way, by sea, from Down to Drogheda. He was received in the house of a Mr. Marky, and while he was there the house was searched by some yeomen, but Russell contrived to elude the search. (To the honour of the gentleman, who sheltered him, be it told—he was of politics the most opposite to those of Russell ; in fact he had the reputation of being an orangeman.) He then went to Dublin to concert means for saving his life ; he had a communication with a person of high rank and transcendent legal ability, but being detained one day, on a promise of an interview, his place of retreat became known to an attorney, who brought Major Sirr to his lodgings and arrested him. The captors did not pretend to know who he was, but being brought to the Castle, he was identified by General George Knox, with whom he had served in India ; he was then transmitted to Down, where he was put to death.

“ A short time before his arrest, I came up from the North to see him. I was then staying at Santry, I sent my wife to Mrs. Horan, Mr. Palmer’s daughter, of Cutpurse-row, to inform Russell how Hamilton was situated at Ballibay. Russell sent back word for me to go back to Ballibay, which I had just left ; I obeyed the orders, and returned to Monaghan, where I worked at my trade until it was no longer necessary for me to remain when Hamilton was arrested.

“ Emmet and Russell being dead, then I was closely hunted, from place to place, for the next three years, and being convinced that any further attempt would then be worse than useless and become a system of guerilla outrage and plunder, I sought the preservation of myself and my family. My efforts to serve the cause of the United Irishmen ended with the discharge of my duty to the last and truest of their leaders.”

Russell, after his ineffectual efforts at Belfast,

eyes, his nose a little turned up, a small dimple in his chin, dark brown hair, genteel address, and swaggering walk.”—R. R. M.

found refuge in the house of a poor man of the name of Witherspoon, in the neighbourhood, where he continued while any hope of success remained in that quarter of the country. The following account of this humble, but noble minded creature, I received from Miss M'Cracken\* :—

“James Witherspoon was a man of extreme simplicity of manners and character, but of the strictest integrity; he was, by trade, a weaver, and had a few acres of land in the parish of Knockbracken, in the county Down; he had been in the Ballinahinch fight, and behaved with spirit, though a person, of all others, the least inclined to acts of violence or fitted, one would think, for scenes of strife or bloodshed.

“Mr. Russell had known and esteemed this man previous to his arrest in 1796. He removed from the house of John Green, near the Cave hill, where he first stopped, in 1803, when he came to the North, and went to Witherspoon's, where he had called on his way from Dublin on his previous visit. There, I think, he remained until the distribution of the proclamation, which might be said to be the only act or movement made in the North; not a single copy of this proclamation is now to be found.† After the failure Mr. Russell removed to Daniel Rabb's, of Ballysallagh, who was the very counterpart of Walter Scott's Dandy Dinmont, and his wife a woman of superior intellect and courage, and quite a heroine.

“Witherspoon, however, became an object of suspicion, and his family greatly annoyed by the nocturnal visits of the military, determined on making application to Mr. Skinner, through his agent, for protection. After Russell had left the North he made known to Mr. Skinner the fact of Russell having been in his house.

“He was assured that he should have no farther

\* Previous to the failure Russell was, for some days, sheltered at the house of Mr. William Jameson, a land agent of Mr. William Sinclair's, but Sinclair knew nothing of Russell being in the country, though McSkimmin speaks of his defection.

† A copy of this document was secured for me.—R.E.M.



annoyance, and that he should not be the worse for his candid acknowledgment; but as soon as the news of Russell's arrest arrived in the North, Witherspoon was taken prisoner. Skinner, being a magistrate, assisted by Mr. David Gordon, Crown-Attorney, endeavoured to extract information against Russell, but to no purpose; they could obtain nothing further than that Russell had been at his house. Presuming on his simplicity of character, and his religious scruples, (he was a strict Covenanter,) they sought to effect their object by thrusting a bible to his mouth, and telling him that, having kissed the sacred book, he would be a perjured man if he did not tell the whole truth; he remained, however, inflexible. He was then sent to Dublin, guarded, and was treated with the greatest harshness. He was taken to Kilmainham, and put into a cell, which looked into a yard, where he saw Mr. Russell, walking backwards and forwards. He was asked was that the man who had been in his house, he said "it might, or it might not be, for all he knew." Finding nothing could be made of him, he was brought back to the North, and, together with his son John, a soft, raw kind of lad, from whom much firmness could not be expected, lodged in Downpatrick jail; but both remained inflexibly true, and were kept in prison until the following year, when, as a great favour, they were allowed to transport themselves to America. James had two daughters and two other sons, one called after Henry Joy M'Cracken. He took his family to America, and died there long since.

"While Mr. Russell was at this man's house, he informed my sister and myself of his place of concealment, and we visited him there. This was before the proclamation was issued. He asked me to inform the late Mr. Luke Teeling and Mr. Bunting, that he would be glad to see them; it was not on the subject of politics that he wished to see either, it was as a matter of private friendship. He wished to see Mr. Bunting, to inquire, I believe, about the lady he was

attached to. Mr. Bunting went, but Mr. Teeling thought it more prudent to decline."

Russell remained at Mr. Daniel Rabb's, of Ballysallack, near Newtownards, for some weeks; during this time he wrote several notes to Miss M'Cracken, and in one of them he said to her, tell Hamilton, if you see him, "I am ready to join any body of men I may find in arms in the cause of Ireland." Hamilton and Hope were in the neighbourhood, not knowing where he was. The above named note was brought to Miss M'Cracken by a young countrywoman, in the sole of her stocking.

LETTER FROM T. R. BROUGHT TO MISS M'CRACKEN,  
BY MRS. RABB, AFTER HIS FAILURE IN ANTRIM.

"I go this moment for the purpose, if in my power, of rectifying the mistakes that have taken place. Whether I shall fail or succeed, is in the hand of God; for the present he has stopped our progress, for purposes, no doubt, wise; but the cause, I am certain, will yet prevail. Courage alone was wanting here to render success not only certain, but easy; at the same time, I think it was rather misfortune, than want of courage or principle, that stopped us, though I shall, probably, find it difficult to make that believed. If you see my friend, tell him, or any other person, I am gone to the South, to join any body I can find in arms, to establish their rights, and that I will shortly be heard of; but I think my departure should be a secret, as I hope soon to return. It certainly afflicts me, to leave any in prison on account of this, but, I trust, I shall yet be able to serve them; my stay here any longer could not, as far as I can see, be of any use.

"The — militia with you are all good. I am sorry arrangements prevented me seeing some of them, but all in good time. There was an omission, through haste, in the proclamation, it was—'that I wish all the King's *regular* forces to be considered as English

and not as rebels,'—and you may depend on it, it will be adhered to. I may have committed faults, but I did all for the best, and I hope soon to return, and set all to rights. The Cause I will never relinquish.".....

In the following interesting letter of Mrs. Rabb to Miss M'Cracken, many particulars will be found which dispose of one portion of the mass of fabrications concerning Russell's movements in the North, in M'Skimmin's statement:—

*“ Ballysallagh, November 18, 1843.*

“ DEAR MADAM,—I received your letter of the 11th, and shall be happy to give you any information that is in my power; but, indeed, it is little that you are not already acquainted with. Captain Russell was brought to our house by a young tradesman, then working in Belfast, a distant relation of mine, and who knew well the integrity of my husband. They were accompanied by two other gentlemen, one a stranger, whose name I have forgot, the other, David Lyons; they were all very much fatigued, it was very late. My husband got up, and let them in; gave them bread and cheese, and left them. How they spent the night, I cannot tell; they had only one bed for the four. After a late breakfast the next day, the other three went across the country to Hollywood, walked into Belfast, and no notice was taken of them. Russell remained, and, under the circumstance, appeared wonderfully contented. All who knew Russell, knew him to be enthusiastic in the cause in which he had embarked; but few knew so well as I did, how incredulous he was as to the hopelessness of it at that time. At first he would not believe any of the communications he got from Belfast, he said it was impossible; but when he was assured, from the newspapers, that Emmet was a prisoner, he was convinced. He immediately resolved on going to Dublin, as he said he was

certain, if there, he would find means to release him ; we all know how this ended. You yourself provided the money that took him there. My husband got two men in Bangor, named Campbell, that he could depend upon, to take him round in an open boat ; he gave them five guineas. I was very much surprised to hear that he had given himself up so quietly to Major Sirr. One night, in our house, that a suspicious character passed the window ; had you seen the stern manner with which he got up, pistol in hand, to receive him, you would have thought it strange, indeed, that he gave himself up, without resistance, to any man. When so high a reward was published for his apprehension, and posted on every corner around us, he said it was neither safe for him, or for us, his being with us any longer. He asked had we no friend that we could trust, who would shelter him a few days, till the boat would be ready. James M'Cutcheon, of Craigavad, was such a friend ; he went there for a few days. I mention this, as Mr. M'Cutcheon is alive, an intelligent man, and could perhaps, give some traits of character better than I can. He left his military coat with me ; we took it down the night that he sailed, and bid him farewell, as he stepped into the boat. He told me, that since his last arrival in Ireland, he had been through the principal part of it, in disguise, and had ascertained that there was only eighteen thousand regular troops in it. I reminded him of the militia and yeomen. He said :—are they not Irishmen ?—Let us once gain a battle, and they will soon fly to our standard. The yeomen might have proved good friends, but they were admitted, on all hands, to be bad enemies. He said he had travelled a day in a stage coach, while in disguise, with a lady from Belfast, with whom he had often danced, and she did not know him. From my son you will learn that I have lost my husband ; indeed, I now feel alone in the world.

“ Yours, truly,

(Signed)

“ NELLY RABB.”

The following additional particulars of Russell's Northern movement, were obtained, in 1837, from a gentleman at Downpatrick, of high character :—

“As far as I can ascertain the facts, they are shortly these—Previous to Emmet's affair in Dublin, the 23d of July, 1803, Thomas Russell came down to this part of the country, chiefly on the representation of a person of the name of *Drake*, with whom, and about twenty others, a preparatory meeting was held at a place called Annadorn, within a few miles of this town, when Mr. R. exhorted the people to rise. Some subsequent meetings were held in the same district ; but the people, afraid of the consequences, and finding that arms were not ready to be distributed to them, refused to rise, and gave up attending the meetings. On this, some persons got Mr. Russell to try the Antrim county. But he again returned to Annadorn, which last meeting was held on the 22d July, 1803, at the house of a person named Smith, which, like all the other meetings, proved useless ; and some of the persons who attended them it was, who gave information to the magistrates, and were afterwards produced, to prove the ‘overt act.’”

A paper, written by Thomas Russell, at the period of his embarking in the insurrection of 1803, was found among the documents he left in the hands of one of his friends in the North. These papers came into the possession of Miss M'Cracken. They remained in her hands for many years ; but many of them were stolen from her by a dishonest servant, some years ago. Such portions of the lost documents as she has a perfect recollection of, she was good enough to communicate to me.

The following extract is given by her, from memory, from the first paper referred to :—

“Should I fall, and my country deem my services of any moment, I request my debts may be paid, amounting to between three and four hundred pounds, principally incurred for it, and that my body may be

laid in the same grave in which my parents are buried, (I forget the name of the place, but believe it was Dublin). I may have committed faults, for which I beg to be pardoned ; but I did all for the best."

The following is the proclamation produced at the trial, as having been issued by Russell soon after his arrival in the North. No greater proof can be required, or adduced, of the extraordinary and extravagant expectations of the general rising throughout the country, that seems to have been calculated on :—

“ THOMAS RUSSELL, MEMBER OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, AND GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

“ *Head Quarters, July 24, 1803.*

“ Men of Ireland ! once more in arms to assert the rights of mankind and liberate your country ! You see by the secrecy with which this effort has been conducted, and by the multitudes in all parts of Ireland, who are engaged in executing this great object, that your provisional government has acted with wisdom. You will see, that in Dublin, in the West, in the South, that the blow has been struck in the same moment. Your enemies can no more withstand, than they could foresee, this mighty exertion.

“ The proclamation and regulations will shew, that your interest and honour have been considered. Your general, appointed by that government to command in this district, has only to exhort you strongly to comply with these regulations. Your valour is well known : be as just and humane as you are brave, and then rely with confidence in God—that he, with whom alone is victory, will crown your efforts with success.

“ The General orders that hostages shall be secured in all quarters, and hereby apprizes the English commander, that outrages, contrary to the acknowledged laws of war and morality, shall be retaliated in the severest manner. And he further makes known, that

such Irish, as in ten days from the date of this, are found in arms against their country, shall be treated as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated, but all men behaving peaceably shall be under the protection of the law."

Copy, from memory, of a note of Thomas Russell, addressed to Miss M'Cracken, (written in a solution of common-house blue.)

"I hope your spirits are not depressed by a temporary damp, in consequence of the recent failure. Of this be assured,—of ultimate success I am still certain: the failure alone was surprising. Let me beg of you to give the bearer ten guineas, and write to, or draw on ———, and he will pay you. Do not shew this to any creature, but your sister. Of some of the causes of the failure I am yet ignorant; others I know. I shall inform you of them when we meet, if that pleasure is reserved for me."

LETTER TO MRS. HAMILTON, FROM HER UNCLE,  
THOMAS RUSSELL.

*(Blank date.)*

"MY DEAR MARY ANN—I this moment take my leave, and separate from my dear Hamilton and my friends, to triumph in the cause of our country, or to fall. What we have done to insure success, as far as fallible men can do, you will hear. May God preserve you, and your children, and your father. You know my sentiments; and I wished you should know, that I thought of you at the last moment. Don't let Eliza forget me.

"Your affectionate Uncle,  
"T. RUSSELL."

## CHAPTER VIII.

THOMAS RUSSELL, on his arrival in Dublin, had lodgings taken for him at No. 28, Parliament-street, at a gun smith's of the name of Muley. He remained

there, in seclusion, till the 9th of September, 1803, when he was arrested by Major Sirr, Sheriff Minchin, a brother-in-law of Sirr's, and a Mr. John Swift Emerson, an attorney of some eminence in his profession. During Russell's concealment in this house, he was visited, occasionally, by a Mrs. Horan, the Miss Biddy Palmer, of some celebrity as the confidential friend and agent of some of the principal leaders of the Dublin United Irishmen in 1798, whose brother, J. Palmer, was one of the body guard of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It is stated by some of Russell's friends that the reason for the selection of such a locality as that of Parliament-street, in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, was to enable him to receive the visits of some persons of distinction, who were less likely to be noticed with suspicion calling on a person in so public a situation, than in one more retired, and, therefore, more likely to be watched by the agents of the police.

James Hope was told, by Mrs. Horan, that Russell had delayed a day longer than he had intended in Dublin, for the purpose of having an interview with Mr. Grattan, who was viewed by him (Russell) with confidence to the last; that he expected Mr. Grattan the day on which he was arrested, but he did not come; that Russell was only prevented, by the expectation of seeing him, from being removed to a Convent near King-street, from which he was to have been conducted, in the disguise of a Clergyman, and to have been embarked for the Isle of Man.

Major Sirr, with his associates, at half-past nine o'clock at night, on the 9th of September, proceeded to Muley's and arrested Russell. The prisoner was apprehended on suspicion of being some person of consequence connected with Emmet, but who he was, was not known, or affected to be known, by the Major. The Honourable George Knox, his old friend and brother officer, with whom he had served in India, saw him and saluted him as an acquaintance. Knox had been dining at the Castle, with Mr. Marsden,



when the prisoner was brought in ; he accompanied the Secretary, Mr. Marsden, to his office to see the prisoner, where, to use Mr. Emerson's words—"The Hon. George Knox fully identified the prisoner !!!" Minchin and Sirr, it is presumed, were not ignorant of the prisoner's name, but were desirous to affect to be so, with the view of defeating the pretension of Emerson, and of appropriating the whole reward, of £1500, for his apprehension.

The government had offered a reward of £500 for the apprehension of Russell. The Sovereign of Belfast, Mr. Edward May, the brother-in-law of Lord Donegall, on the 11th of May, offered a further reward of £500, "being part of a sum subscribed by some of the inhabitants of Belfast," for the aforesaid purpose.

The General commanding in Belfast, Brigadier-General Campbell, offered a further reward of £500 for the apprehension, or for information that might lead to the arrest, "of the above-mentioned traitor." In the latter advertisement Russell is described as "a tall handsome man, about five feet eleven inches high, dark complexion, aquiline nose, large black eyes, with heavy eye-brows, good teeth, full chested, walks generally fast and upright, and has a military appearance, is about forty-eight years of age, speaks fluently, with a clear distinct voice, and has a good address." One would expect to find "the above-mentioned traitor" described as—a gaunt, ill favoured, and repulsive looking person, with a downcast look, a scowling regard, a sinister expression of countenance, with a shuffling gait, and a restless air ; in fact with all the outward and visible signs of a perturbed spirit that was ill at ease, discontented, and at war with itself and with the world.

The reward offered by the Belfast gentry may be regarded as an evidence of loyalty or fear, or a mixture of both, on the part of the subscribers ; but, however considered, the getting up of the subscription, on the part of the proposers, can only be looked

on as a work of supererogation, in the way of loyalty, and, bearing in mind the large government reward which had been already offered, as an act of cowardly tyranny, adopted with the view of outraging the feelings, and perplexing the judgment of the friends of a man so largely known and loved by the great body of the inhabitants of the town as Russell had been, by calling, unnecessarily, on them, either to violate their private friendship, or to be stigmatized, publicly, as persons who were inimical to the interests of the state. When the price of blood was earned, and the terror of the time had a little subsided, there was as little alacrity in the payment of some of the contributions as there was in affixing signatures to the several amounts. The Major, who was a man of business, and who, with all his zeal for the interests of government, had a very laudable custom of looking after his own, paid a visit to Belfast, and called upon the dilatory subscribers to "book up."

Among the persons who were fixed on for the infliction of this "peine dure et forte," for this torturing mode of trying and determining the character of men's allegiance, was Doctor James McDonnell, of Belfast. He was known to have been, in former times, the intimate friend of this unfortunate gentleman, who had been an inmate of his house, and of whom he had been a patron and a benefactor. If one spark of generosity possessed the men, "noble by courtesy," who were the originators of this measure, Doctor McDonnell would never have been applied to to be a party to the setting of a price on a man's head who had once been as Russell had been to him, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of their political opinions. Others, however, who were not only the friends, but the political associates of Russell, have not the same account to give of the circumstances in which they were placed, or the causes which led to their signing that paper, as I have it in my power to give with respect to Doctor McDonnell. I think it right to mention that the following statement, which I received

from Doctor McDonnell, was given to me for my information, without reference to publication, and that it is in the exercise of my own discretion, and with the fullest sense of the delicacy of the subject, that I give publicity to it, believing, that if it were withheld, the memory of one of the most amiable and kind hearted of human beings might, hereafter, be exposed to reflections, arising from ignorance of the simple facts detailed in this statement, or the malice of men who might misrepresent matters, which, without this statement, would remain but half known.

“ You may conjecture my reason for writing this rather than speaking of it. After Russell was long in prison, and finally liberated, my friends and relations, many of whom were entirely opposed to the rebellion, not as being Orange, but moderate reformers, disapproved of the great intimacy, friendship, and support, I had given to Russell, but on the bursting forth of the second attempt, I felt in common with them all, the greatest resentment and indignation, nor could I believe that Russell was involved in it, above all I could not believe that he was actually heading a party at Carmoney. I was visiting Sir Arthur Chichester when this news arrived. I denied it wholly, and said I thought it a scandalous and false rumour. On that day some company dined at my house, and, unfortunately, a lady, who had a delicate operation to be performed, came privately in the evening to meet the surgeon, in my bed-room; this drew me for half an hour from the table, and one of the gentlemen, seeing a sedan chair go in and out at my door, suspected, and reported, that I had an interview with Russell. Next day Lord Donegall and Sir Arthur called on me to sign a paper, offering a reward for Russell, my sister-in-law being in the room and seeing my agitation, instantly said—‘ Sure you cannot hesitate, if he be *here* as is reported, no punishment can be too great for him, if he be not, why should you permit yourself to be considered as his accomplice.’

“ In signing that paper, I did, what I then con-

sidered, and what I now consider, a solemn duty, but I had not done it an hour, until I wished, of all things, it was undone. I need not dwell upon what passed soon after, when Patrick Lynch was apprehended and fixed upon to identify Russell, in which transaction Lynch was entirely blameless in my opinion.

“Three friends of mine, John Templeton, his sister, and Miss Mary M’Cracken, refused soon after to speak well of me, and a subscription, which I had been in the habit of paying to Miss Russell, (his sister) was returned. These things vexed me more than I can express; but without any explanation upon my part, all these persons returned to my friendship.”

Russell’s arrest led to one of the most disgusting quarrels that ever was forced on the attention of the public, a pamphlet controversy between the informer Emerson, and the chief police agent, or rebel catcher, Sirr. Emerson published a pamphlet which he styled “An appeal to the public on the subject of the detection and apprehension of the late rebel general Russell.” He sets out by saying that “he has no pecuniary or interested ends in view.” He cites “a memorial addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, verified on oath by John Swift Emerson, member of the Attornies’ Corps,” in which he sets forth his claims for the several rewards, amounting to £1,500 for the arrest of Russell. He had gone to Mr. Marsden, in the forenoon, on the ninth, to inform him that he had received information that there was a stranger, under suspicious circumstances, supposed to be a traitor of consequence, concealed on the second floor of Mr. Muley’s house, in Parliament-street. Mr. Marsden referred him to Major Sirr. The Major was not at home. He wrote to him informing him of all the particulars. At nine o’clock that night his informant told him the stranger was then in his apartment, but the informant “did not wish to be seen in the business.” He called again on the Major, he believes, the fifth time that day, and, after being denied twice, he was at last admitted, he found the Major sitting with his brother-

in-law Mr. Minchin. The Major "did not seem to attach much consequence to the information, and wanted to put off the search to the next day," but Emerson urged his immediate attendance, and Minchin asked permission to accompany them. On their arrival, Sirr and Minchin ascended the stairs. Emerson remained below examining Muley's wife, and making a prisoner of a shoemaker of the name of Fleming, who occupied part of the shop. Emerson, hearing himself called by Sirr, took his prisoner with him, when entering the stranger's room he heard the Major say, "if you are a gentleman in debt, and give me any respectable reference as to the fact, I would be the last man in the world who would intrude on your privacy." Emerson observing some linen of his marked with the name of Thomas, said he was convinced the stranger was General Russell. The Major said "it is not, but he is something like him, sure I ought to know, who conducted him to the water side."

Sirr approached Russell, and was in the act of taking hold of his neckcloth, to see if the ends were marked, when Russell said, "I will not be treated with indignity," and drew out a pistol. The Major, after "a little parley," saying, "Sir I treated you with every respect," assisted by Minchin, seized the pistol. Emerson, by Sirr's orders, threw up the sash, and called out to the exchange guard, who immediately came, with an officer of the name of Stewart. Emerson accompanied the prisoner and the guard to Mr. Marsden's office, where he was identified by the Honourable George Knox. Emerson now applied for the whole reward, and, through the late Baron Smith, was informed that government had determined to share the £1,500, to give the Major and himself £750 each. Mr. Kemmis, the Crown Solicitor, paid Emerson the sum of £500, and referred him to Mr. Taylor for the balance. Taylor referred him to Kemmis, Kemmis referred him to Messrs. La Touche bankers, and La Touche back to Marsden. Emerson

was not to be discouraged, or deprived of the fruits of his honest industry. He besieged the castle, worried the Viceroy, and wearied the Secretary. At length, on the 24th of January, 1804, he got an answer, stating that the Belfast subscription had not been received; whereupon Mr. Emerson expresses a hope the loyal inhabitants of Belfast "will not allow any slur to be cast on a city remarkable for its opulence and loyalty." The Major, he states, on credible information, "had applied for himself exclusively, for the entire of the rewards."

Emerson having heard that the Major, and his brother-in-law, denied his having been present when Russell was disarmed, addressed the Major on the 18th of April, 1804, telling him his assertion was "false," which provocation the Major treated with silent and dignified contempt. Emerson at the same time inquired after Fleming, for the purpose of getting his attestation of the fact of his presence when Russell was disarmed, but, unfortunately, "*Fleming was dead and buried about a fortnight.*" The passage is in italics in the pamphlet. This unfortunate man, Emerson says, was not privy to the concealment of Russell, but he had been sent to the *Provost*, which brought on a *consumption*, of which he died after his liberation. Emerson states that Fleming was a second cousin of Mr. Marsden.

In renouncing the further pursuit of his claims, Emerson informs the Viceroy, "that were he not conscious that his information had, through Providence, probably prevented the effusion of much loyal blood in this city, he should sincerely regret that he had ever communicated the circumstance which led to the capture of Mr. Russell."

Among the documents transmitted to his Excellency, in proof of the assertion on which he grounded his claims, there was a letter from Russell's counsel, the late H. Joy, Baron of the Exchequer, stating that "he had a perfect recollection that Mr. Russell not only informed him that he, (Emerson,) was in the room at the time of his apprehension, but mentioned

that Major Sirr seemed not to have the least suspicion of his person until he observed Mr. Emerson whisper him, and heard him, as he imagined, pronounce the name of Russell." Another of these documents was a letter from the officer Stewart, who accompanied the guard, in that letter he states, that on entering the room, Emerson was there in his uniform, of the Attornies Corps, with his bayonet drawn, and that Emerson told him of his having drawn a pistol before he called the guard. He understood that the Town Major acted only as his assistant on that occasion. In another document, Baron Smith said, "he believed, in his conscience, that no person doubts his, (Emerson's,) having been present at the apprehension, and that his character for *honour* and veracity was out of the reach of those vague rumours."

Another of the documents, in question, is an affidavit sworn by Henry Charles Sirr, and Humphry Minchin, two of his Majesty's justices of the peace, sworn before the Lord Mayor, the 22nd of May, 1804, wherein deponents state, "that at the time they so apprehended and disarmed the said Thomas Russell, and, for some minutes afterwards, there was not any person whatsoever in the apartment in which they so apprehended and disarmed the said Thomas Russell, save and except Russell and deponents." And that soon after Emerson entered the room.

Now, it is to be remembered, all Emerson's statements, in his memorial to the Viceroy, are likewise sworn to before Alderman James, the 24th January, 1804.

Baron Smith, with singular felicity, reconciles the trifling difference in the sworn statements of the two parties. He writes to Emerson, "that he has read the affidavit of Messrs. Sirr and Minchin, and assures him that he has not a shade of a doubt that he (Emerson) was present when they disarmed and apprehended Russell."..... "They may, without being perjured, have forgotten what did not happen; but you cannot, without being forsworn, remember what did not."

Emerson finally addressed the Viceroy, renouncing

the further prosecution of his claims, in which communication he makes an observation, the justice of which cannot be disputed :—" Your Excellency will see the strong necessity of having this matter speedily investigated. Putting my complaint entirely out of the case, it will be but doing justice to Major Sirr, by giving him an opportunity of supporting his character for veracity ; AND WHEN YOUR EXCELLENCY IS PLEASED TO RECOLLECT HOW MANY LIVES HAVE BEEN FORFEITED TO THE LAWS ON THE TESTIMONY OF THIS OFFICER, YOU WILL SEE THAT THE PUBLIC ARE INTERESTED IN HAVING EVERY OPPORTUNITY AFFORDED TO HIM OF ESTABLISHING HIS VERACITY ON THE PRESENT OCCASION."

The Major's modesty not permitting him to appear, in print, in *propria persona*, a pamphlet, in reply to Emerson's, came out, in 1804, entitled, " Observations on a pamphlet, entitled ' An Appeal to the Public, by J. T. Emerson,' " signed Verax, with some additions, under the signature of Timothy Tell-Truth. The motto is in accordance with the character of the proceedings the publication treats of, and the very serious turn of the defended party—" And he cast down the pieces of silver in the Temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." The writer leaves the public to determine the striking similitude between the perfidy of Judas, " and the baseness of the return made to Major Sirr, for the most friendly offices."

The Major, through his advocate, declares, that his soul was incapable of entertaining the base avaricious designs " that engrossed the thoughts of Mr. Emerson. It was a fact," he says, " that cannot be contradicted, that Major Sirr never before accepted a reward for any person he has apprehended, although he has arrested many, for whom large rewards were offered ; and he only accepted one, on that occasion, in opposition to Emerson, because he made his claim in an unhandsome manner. Emerson," he says,



“ would never have dared to appeal to the public, had Fleming remained in the land of the living.” And then the writer makes some dark allusions to the untimely fate and removal from this world of the witness to the scene in question. He finishes in language worthy of the object and the subject of his advocacy, and perfectly in keeping with the principles of the chief functionary of “ the battalion of testimony,” in disposing of Emerson’s sworn statements—“ *there are two oaths to one against him.*”

“ ’Tis not the many oaths that make the truth,” says Shakspeare, but the Major knew better; his “ battalion,” which “ would unsphere the stars with oaths,” was a living proof of the fact, that the quality of this raw material, of alleged facts, signified little, the quantity of swearing was every thing. This swearing, and counter swearing, for the price of a man’s blood, not on the part of the subordinate villains who swore for their daily bread, but on the part of men of the privileged class. One of them in an office, which placed at his disposal the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens, in which he was upheld by the government, year after year, and administration after administration, honoured with the countenance of each succeeding Viceroy, nay, with the friendship of the brother of his sovereign, and the other a member of the Attornies’ Corps of Cavalry, an officer of that force which was let loose on the country—a legal gentleman of some note, and a loyalist of the first water, till he was bobbed out of £250 by his friend the Major, the half of the Belfast subscription money, promised to him by the Chief Secretary; and, but for his vigilance, was likely to have been defrauded of the whole amount of his *very dearly earned* reward.

No doubt, in Ireland, “ when a gentleman is disposed to swear, it is not for any stander-by to curtail his oath;” had it been otherwise, the publications I have referred to, would have disgusted the patrons of those squabblers for blood-money, and the pre-

cinets, at least, of the Viceregal palace, would have been rescued from the contamination of the presence and pursuits of one of the parties within the very walls of the Castle.

## CHAPTER IX.

WHEN Russell was in Kilmainham, in 1803, Miss M'Cracken states, he communicated with the jailer, John Dunn, and offered to give him the sum of £200, in consideration of lending his assistance to the plan proposed for his escape. The proposal was rejected by the jailer, but was acquiesced in by the turnkey, George Dunn.\*

Miss M'Cracken directed her brother's mercantile agent in Dublin, Mr. J. Orr, to advance the sum required, and charge it to their account. The entire sum given for Russell's use, on this occasion, and for his defence, to the amount of £200, was charged to the M'Crackens, in Orr's account; and of that sum, £100 had been given to Russell, in Kilmainham, the night before orders came to send him to the North; and that sum, Miss M'Cracken was informed, had been handed over by Russell, to Mr. St. John Mason, his fellow-prisoner, to be given to his sister. Mason being afraid it would be seized, if it remained in his hands, gave it to the turnkey, to deliver to Russell. The turnkey, (says Miss M'Cracken), carried the money to the Castle, and said it was offered to him to let the prisoner escape. The money was then given him, by the government, as a reward for his fidelity. Miss M'Cracken adds, "I wrote shortly after Mr. Russell's death, to Mr. Joy, requesting that the £100 which St. John Mason had handed to the turnkey, should be given to Miss Russell. In respect to the

\* George Dunn was an Englishman; no relative of the jailer, John Dunn, but his successor in office.

money, Mr. Mason said, he believed it had been intended for a bribe, which, however, did not entitle those at the head of affairs to use it, as if it was their own. I had a letter, which Miss Russell gave to Mr. Ramsay, from Mr. Mason to her, saying, that he was bound to her for the payment of £100, should it not be recovered. This, however, was not done."

FROM JAMES ORR TO MISS MARGARET M'C.

"*Dublin, October 1, 1803.*

"DEAR MADAM—From the very uncertain state your friend is in, his situation is most distressing. His life has been completely despaired of by all, except the friend to whom you have written (his sister); she still has hopes, but they depend on what, I am afraid, cannot be accomplished, and even if done, I cannot conceive the benefit arising, would be at all what she expects.\* She thinks a sum of money would relieve his mind sufficiently, to make a change in his situation; but that sum is £150 or £200. I wished to know in what way this could have the effect; but either from prudence, or fearful that her hopes arose from too sanguine a disposition, and that my opinion would not coincide with hers, she rather declined saying more; and I did not, of course, being quite unknown to her, wish to press her. She is most grateful for the attention she has met with from you. She has seen your friend every day of late, and has told him of your wishes for his recovery. From the great danger of his complaint, few, or rather no friends here, have ventured visiting him; which, though perhaps prudent, is not what could be wished.

(Signed)

"JAMES ORR."

\* The money was for the accomplishment of the purpose entertained by Russell's friends, namely, to enable him to effect his escape, by means of a bribe to the jailer.—R. R. M.

## FROM JAMES ORR TO MISS M'C.

*“ Dublin, October 13, 1803.*

“ Mr. Russell left this, strongly guarded, yesterday morning, for Downpatrick, to stand his trial. He had only a few moments' warning, which deprived him from seeing his sister, after he knew the determination. This, perhaps, was better on his account: the parting of friends from each other, in such circumstances, must be most truly distressing. Many here say, there is not sufficient against him to affect his life; but this, I imagine, could not be the case; as, was it so, he never would have been removed from this. The money which was received, has not been, in any way, made use of by the young man who received it. He still holds it, until he sees whether he can be entirely relieved by it; if not, he will return the principal part. He was in hopes, that by paying one debt here, all would be settled; but finding that not the case, he has gone to the country, in hopes of turning it to some advantage there. It is a bad time for speculation; but his circumstances are in such a melancholy situation, that, could any thing be done, it would be truly distressing not to have the means.”

## FROM JAMES ORR TO MISS M'C.

*“ Dublin, August 17th.*

“ I saw Mr. Mason the day after I returned here. He says, what he knows of the money is, that it was given to him, and he returned it; but from its never having been given back by the person he (Mason) delivered it to, he was convinced there was a fraud committed. He says, he was since told, that Mr. R. had given it as a bribe, after he received it back: but I entreated him not to give belief to what was an impossibility; for surely, where double the sum was offered, and refused, no man would be so mad, as to expect the half would have better success.”

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MISS JOY (SISTER  
OF BARON JOY) TO MISS M. A. M'CRACKEN.

*" Temple-street, July 2nd.*

" It was not until yesterday, that Henry could find an opportunity of speaking to the Attorney-General, on Miss Russell's business ; and I am happy to say, his application is likely to be attended with considerable success. The Attorney-General told him, if it could be found out who the person was, who got possession of the £100, he would make him refund it ; and he had little doubt, that government would allow it to be given up to Miss Russell."

*(Signed)*

" G. J."

Mr. St. John Mason recently informed me, that after the unsuccessful attempt to effect Robert Emmet's escape, by bribing George Dunn, being still ignorant of the perfidy of the latter, another attempt was made to bribe him, by the friends of Thomas Russell. The plan devised for his escape was, to place a sum of £100 in the hands of one of Russell's fellow-prisoners when the affair was accomplished, or Russell consented to be paid to George Dunn. A man, of the name of Patrick Smith, a convict, who acted as an assistant to the turnkey, brought the note from Russell to Mason, requiring his assistance. George Dunn was accordingly applied to, and he agreed to the proposal. The money was to be lodged in the hands of Mr. John Hickson, one of the state prisoners, and was to be delivered to Dunn, on the escape of Russell. Mason was then confined in his cell. Hickson was brought by Dunn to the door of Mason's cell, but was ignorant of the purpose for which he was brought there. St. John Mason was in the act of handing the money sent to him, to Hickson, when, at that moment, old John Dunn, the jailer, rushed forward, and seized Hickson's hand. Hickson was on the outside, and George Dunn was standing at a little distance. The money, however, never left the hand of Mason. Dunn,

in his attempt to seize his hand, laid hold of Hickson's. They did not then go into Mason's cell: he thrust the money into the leaf of a book, and there it remained. Mason sent back the money, a bank note, by Smith to Russell; but the latter had already been sent to the North, to be put on his trial.

St. John Mason subsequently wrote to Hickson, requesting him to take care, that the money given to Smith, should be delivered to the sister of Russell. So much for the statement of Mr. St. John Mason. Shortly after it was given to me, I was fortunate enough to obtain further information on the subject, from the party referred to—Mr. John Hickson. Mr. Hickson, in a verbal communication, informed me, the plan devised for Russell's escape was, to bribe George Dunn, the turnkey. Mason came to Hickson's cell with George Dunn, and out of the grated aperture in the door or window, he put the £100 note into Hickson's hands, saying, "When I tell you to give this to George Dunn, you are to give it." Hickson put out his hand through the grating to take it, and the moment he did so, his hand was suddenly grasped outside, by some person unseen. He pulled away his hand, and the moment he did so, old John Dunn made his appearance at the door of his cell. The proposal was first made to George Dunn, by Mason, and apparently it was accepted by the latter.

George Dunn, after the detection of the attempt in Emmet's case, had kept up appearances with the prisoners, representing Trevor as the person by whom it had been defeated. On the last occasion, he shook like an aspen leaf, affecting to have been quite terrified by the surprisal.

The preceding account, it will be observed, differs from Mason's, with respect to the party who was brought by Dunn to the cell of the state prisoner who held the note.

The following extract, relative to the attempt made to effect the escape of Russell, is taken from a parliamentary paper, headed—"Copy of a despatch from

His Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, containing the case of Mr. St. John Mason," with an Appendix. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, the 2nd of June, 1812.

The cause of the production of this paper was, the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons, on the part of Mr. St. John Mason, in the same year, complaining of his unjust and rigorous confinement in Kilmainham jail, from 1803 to 1806, on a charge of being concerned in the insurrection of the former year.

EXTRACT FROM LORD LIEUTENANT'S DESPATCH.

" ..... Shortly before *Emmet's* execution, Russell was committed to the same prison, a traitor of equal note, but having no private connection with Mr. *Mason*.

" Dunn swears, that *Mason*, after *Emmet's* execution, proposed to procure Mr. Russell's escape, having then mentioned he was convinced it was not to be imputed to Dunn that *Emmet* had not been saved by his exertions, and that *Mason* then offered a *Bank note of one hundred pounds* to Dunn, and further promises, if what he desired should be effected. Dunn further swears, that he agreed to this proposal, upon which *Mason* informed him, that the note had been sent to Mr. Russell, and that if he stated to Russell the manner in which *Mason* had sent the note, Russell would then give it to him. Accordingly (Dunn swears) that he addressed himself to Russell in the following words:—'By the same token, *Mason* sent you a note for one hundred pounds in a piece of an old newspaper;' upon which Russell asked him, 'whether it could be done now?' meaning whether his escape could be effected. Dunn replied in the affirmative. Russell objected to it on account of the lateness of the hour and the pickets being set, but said, that the next evening earlier he would be prepared; he, however, was disappointed in this expect-

tation, as in the morning he was taken to Downpatrick; and, upon finding that the hundred pound note had not answered the purpose of effecting his escape, confided in Dunn, who further swears, that he (Russell) gave him the note to return to *Mason* (evidently from this circumstance the original owner of it.) Dunn further swears, that having got the note, he wished to discover by whom it had been conveyed to Russell, and for that purpose told *Mason* that Russell had not received the note, on which *Mason* exclaimed against the perfidy of the messenger, naming him 'Paddy;' but said it was of little moment, as he could stop payment of the note, the number and description of it being entered in one of the leaves of a book which he produced; this book, Dunn swears, he soon after contrived to get possession of, and sent it to the Castle. The book so sent is in the Chief Secretary's office; it is Foster's Crown Law, and has the number of the note entered in one of the pages; this entry is in *Mason's* hand-writing; the note was also sent to the Castle, where it remains in the Chief Secretary's office.—[See *Appendix*, No. 5. *Letter from George Dunn, and his Affidavit annexed.*]

"There are two original letters of Mr. *St. John Mason's* also in the Chief Secretary's office, respecting the hundred pound note alluded to in Dunn's statement; one to the Right Honourable Wm. Wickham, dated Kilmainham, October 14, 1803, mentioning—'that a gentleman who had been confined in that prison, had deposited with *Mason* a bank note of £100, previous to his leaving the prison, which he had given to a person of the name of Patrick Smith, under order of transportation, to return to that gentleman, expressing his fears that the note had not been delivered, and requesting that Smith might be detained until he could ascertain the fact.'—See *Appendix*, No. 6.

"The other letter, to the High Sheriff of the county Down, stating—'that Mr. Russell had deposited with him, as a trust, a bank note on Monday, the day previous to his departure for the North; that



he gave it to Patrick Smith to deliver, but feared that Russell never received it, and requesting the Sheriff to make application and ascertain the fact.'—See *Appendix, No. 7, and Memorandum.*

“ About that time arrived a letter, dated September, 1803, directed to Mr. Flint, then Private Secretary to Mr. Wickham, now head of the Irish office, London; this letter seemed to have been written in answer to some inquiries made, by him, concerning Mason. Who the writer may have been I know not, but he appears to have been some secret informer of the government; the original is lost, but an extract was taken from it, very carefully, at the time in a book kept for such purposes, a copy of which is hereunto annexed.

“ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,  
(Signed) “ J. S. TOWNSEND.”

[*Extract from Appendix No. 5.*]

LETTER FROM MR. GEORGE DUNN TO DR. TREVOR.

(*Blank date.*)

“ ..... Mr. Mason, after Mr. Emmet's execution, proposed to procure Mr. Russell's escape: having then mentioned he was convinced that it was not to be imputed to me that Mr. Emmet had not been saved by my exertions.

“ He then offered a bank note to me of one hundred pounds, and further promises, if what he desired should be effected. I said I would accept his proposal: upon which he informed me, that the note of £100, which he had before shewn me, was sent to Mr. Russell, and that if I stated the manner in which Mr. Mason sent the note to Mr. Russell he would then give it to me. In consequence, I informed Mr. Russell thereof, who gave me the note, which I handed to you. Mr. Mason mentioned that he had entered the number of the note in a book (which was afterwards seized by Mr. Dunn, the keeper,) and

which is now, I believe, in your possession. Mr. Mason, being shortly afterwards convinced I had communicated to you, as the person entrusted with the direction of state prisoners, these circumstances, caused me to be treated with uncommon severity by the state prisoners.

“As to other particulars, too numerous to mention, I am sure you will call them to your recollection upon this statement.

“I am, &c. &c.,

(Signed) “GEORGE DUNN.

“To Dr. Trevor.”

No. 6.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. ST. JOHN MASON TO  
THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM WICKHAM.

“*Kilmainham, Oct., 14, 1803.*

“SIR—A gentleman who had been confined here, had deposited with me, as a trust, a Bank note to the amount of one hundred pounds. Previous to his leaving this place, I gave it, to have returned to that gentleman, to a person of the name of Patrick Smith, who is, I find, a convict, and ordered for transportation. I fear he had not given the note as intended, from his voluntary solicitation to go abroad with those convicts on the eve of departure, although he had a certainty of unconditional pardon. I therefore request that his person may be detained until I can ascertain the fact, which may be done in a day or two.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ST. JOHN MASON.

“To the Rt. Hon. W. Wickham,

“&c. &c. &c.”

No. 7.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. ST. JOHN MASON TO  
THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY DOWN.

“*Kilmainham, Oct., 17, 1803.*

“SIR—Convinced that I shall, on this occasion,

tenant (strange to say, of the existence of which all the parties seemed to be in ignorance,) not been appended to the other statements I have given, what impression would have been left on the mind of the reader? The same impression that had been left on the mind of poor Miss Russell, of Mr. Orr, of Miss M'Cracken, (the last person to harbour an uncharitable thought of another,) that Mr. St. John Mason was not able to render a satisfactory account of his conduct; in plain terms, that he had appropriated the money to his own use.

We see that Dunn, acting under the directions of Trevor, the government agent, had falsely told Mason that Russell had not received the note from his messenger, the convict Smith, thus leaving the unfortunate man, Smith, suspected by Mason of stealing the note, and denounced by him to the Chief Secretary, and leaving Mason, up to the present period, suspected of defrauding the sister of his friend Russell, of the money placed in his hands, under circumstances which rendered a breach of trust the foulest act of perfidy it is possible to conceive. That the government was a party to this base proceeding, the letter of Baron Joy's sister can leave no doubt of. The Attorney-General informed her brother, "if it could be found out who the person was who got possession of the £100, he would make him refund it; and, he had little doubt, the government would allow it to be given up to Miss Russell."

In June, 1812, the Lord Lieutenant informed the government, that "the note (of £100) was also sent to the Castle, where it remains in the Chief Secretary's office." So that the integrity of the poor convict, and the honour and fidelity of the cousin of Robert Emmet, Mr. St. John Mason, were left under a cloud of suspicion, and the sister of Russell was suffered to live in want and misery, and to die in a house of paupers, while the money was in the hands of government that ought to have been delivered to her. That money may still be there, but most likely it is not. Be

it where it may, Lord Elliot, justice and humanity, are not matters of geographical determination, what behoves the interests of either in Spain, concerns the same interests in Ireland. You showed what your sense of the obligations of both were in the former country; you owe it to your character to manifest the same sense of those obligations in the sphere of your present duties,—ascertain what has become of that money; if it be still in your office, restore it to its rightful owner, Miss Mary M'Cracken, of Belfast. If your predecessors have improperly disposed of it, redeem the credit of the Irish government—recommend the restitution of this money which appears to have been withheld, for the scandalous purpose of attaching suspicion to, and affixing a stigma on the character of a man, whose only crime was to have been a relative of Robert Emmet! There are circumstances connected with this transaction, calculated to elevate our opinions of humanity, as much as others are of a nature to lower it. The conduct of the convict, Patrick Smith, who had no character to lose, but with all his criminality, in the eyes of the law, some sense of shame, perhaps of feelings of conscience, left unperverted by crime, that would not suffer him to stoop to an act of signal baseness, is worthy of attention—aye, and of respect and commendation.

What a temptation was the possession of such a sum of money for a man in his circumstances, and this man one of “the dregs of the people,” as his class is called—one of “the outcasts of society,”—“a convicted felon,” faithfully performed the duty entrusted to him—and, for his fidelity, appears to have been severely punished.

Mason, in his letter to Mr. Wickham, the 14th Oct. 1803, states, that he (Patrick Smith) was then ordered for transportation, although before “he had a certainty of unconditional pardon.” What a contrast between the conduct of this transported convict, and that of the government agent, Dr. Trevor, by whose instructions the money was swindled out of the hands

of the unfortunate prisoner Russell, by false representations, that man on whom the coldness of death was already creeping.

Here was a gentleman—a broad-cloth gentleman—an official, high in the confidence of government—a member (would that it were not so) of the noblest, because the most humanizing, of all professions, dragging his character, his office, his profession, through the mire of government purposes, and of party politics, for the sake of promoting his miserable interests. Is there one of his party living, who would prefer meeting his Maker in the person of Dr. Trevor, Inspector of State Prisons, Agent of Transports, Physician of Kilmainham, &c., rather than appear before the tribunal of eternal justice in the person of the transported felon, the convict, Patrick Smith?

I have made no reference to the cruelty of practising on the credulity of a man, cast for death,—yes, cast for death, from the moment he was recognized, and identified at the Castle by his former friend, the Hon. George Knox. The formality of a trial in those days, was but one of the acts of the Irish state melodrama, which my friend, M'Cabe, has likened to the Greek drama, where the personages are hurried on, from step to step, to an inevitable end—a *denouement* of a tragic character. The inhumanity in question, was but a portion of the system of government of Great Britain, in Ireland, at that period, which may have been equalled in barbarity, and the ingenuity of its cruelty, in the Spanish possessions, in the New World, or in the Netherlands, or in Venice, but, in point of hypocrisy, never, since this world began, has been approached elsewhere.

## CHAPTER X.

A LETTER from Thomas Russell to a friend, written after his apprehension in Dublin, September, or October, 1803 :—

“ The man named, is the person I alluded to ; so,

of course, that is over; I did not open my mind to him. Something you said of my not knowing any body, I did not understand; you don't suppose I would say I knew any body. Three men have been sent from the North, to identify me, by *Forde, a Down Squire*.\* I understand they don't know me; but that is of no consequence, for they will trump up some story; as to the proclamation, *I never saw it*. I mean to make my trial, and the last of my life, if it is to close now, as serviceable to the cause of liberty as I can. I trust my country ever will adhere to it; I know it will soon prosper. If you ever find out who I have been with at different times, give my love to them, and tell them how much I am obliged by their kindness, and shall remember it, as long as remembrance lasts. It is a pleasure for me, to know that it was by no information I was taken. It was accidental, *this I know*;† that is, they heard there was a person concealed, but had no notion of me; it was the same in regard of my great and dear friend Emmet. When the country is free, I beg they may lay my remains with my father, in a private manner, and pay a few debts I owe. I recommend you to my friends, and if things continue as they are, they will enable you to go to Anne. As to John Wickham,‡ sent a paper about his stay in Paris, which I answered; he spoke of his being much in a Mr. Delany's company.§ I mentioned, as was the case, I knew but one of that name, who was not in England from his childhood.

“I have only to beg of my countrymen, to be sure that the cause of liberty is the cause of virtue, which, I trust, they will never abandon. May God bless and

\* This gentleman was distantly connected with Russell.

† I believe that Russell was mistaken. The information did not come casually to Emerson.

‡ John, his brother, whose house in London had been searched. He went over to Paris, in 1802, to see T. R. and his own daughter, Mrs. Hamilton.

§ Mr. Delany had lived in Paris since 1785, and filled some confidential situations.

prosper them ; and when power comes into their hands, I entreat them to use it with mercy. May God and the Saviour bless them all."

Russell was brought to Downpatrick from Dublin, in a carriage, accompanied by Dr. Trevor, Inspector of Prisons, and escorted by a guard of cavalry. Trevor's mission, it would seem, was to act as a spy on the prisoner, and to endeavour to extract information from him.

General Archibald Campbell, who then commanded at Armagh, the Light Brigade, composed of the light companies of eleven regiments, under Major Barnes, (afterwards Sir Edward,) was ordered over to Downpatrick, as a protection during the trial ; a troop of regular cavalry, and six hundred yeomanry, were also sent there. The county yeomanry were called out, and put on permanent duty. Russell was confined in the governor's rooms, in the prison ; an officer's guard was placed at the entrance.

A letter from Russell to Miss M'Cracken, written a day or two previous to his trial, shews what his opinion was as to the result of the latter, and his feelings with respect to the failure of his efforts.

" To the more than friendship, I owe to you and your sister ; it is impossible to be sufficiently grateful ; nor will I wound your feelings by attempting to thank you. I would not wish you to make an attempt to see me, which would be fruitless, and could only serve to draw suspicion on you and your family. As to me, I shall only say, that, to the last moment of my liberty, I was not thinking of myself, nor acting for myself, but for my country ; and, though now what I was engaged in, with the immortal hero who has fallen, is considered as, perhaps, wild, *yet I could shew, and it will be shewed, that the failure was alone surprizing.* With some of the reasons I am still unacquainted ; respecting what you sent me, I had more than enough, which will be returned, as Mr.

Ramsay can tell. The government have, I am sure, made a point of my death. If it is to take place, I wish to make it as useful to the cause that I live for, and your brother, and so many have died for. My intention was to have employed no counsel, but Mr. Ramsay informs me that the other men, who are to be tried, may be benefitted by the cross examination on mine, which is the first, so, that, I believe, I shall suffer them, but intend to speak, in conclusion myself, my political and religious opinions. I perfectly know that not a hair of my head is in the power of man, without the permission of God, and am perfectly resigned to his pleasure; he can, and, perhaps, may, deliver me, but whatever he wills is best. Humanly speaking, I expect to be found guilty, and immediately executed; as this may be my last letter, I shall only say that I did my best for my country, and for mankind; errors, from my fallible judgment, I have, doubtless, committed, and I beg their pardon for them—for I have no wish to die—but far from regretting its loss, in such a cause, had I a thousand lives, I would willingly risk or lose them in it; and be assured liberty will, in the midst of these storms, be established, and God will wipe off the tears from all eyes. I do most sincerely hope, and earnestly recommend, that when freedom comes, my country may be merciful. Politically, I have nothing but what I glory in—morally, when I acknowledge myself a grievous sinner, I trust for pardon and mercy through my Saviour, as I do most sincerely forgive all those who are about to take my life. To his protection I recommend you, and your, and my friends. I need not recommend my sister to you I am satisfied. May God Almighty bless you all, is the wish and prayer of your sincere and affectionate friend,

“ T. R.”

P.S.—“ It may be a satisfaction to know that I was not betrayed for reward, accident led to my apprehension, this I know; and it was the same as to



Emmet,\* you may be certain of this. Adieu, we shall meet in a happier state."

Miss M'Cracken no sooner heard of Russell's having been sent to Downpatrick, than her efforts to serve her unfortunate friend were renewed. She knew he was without the means of preparing for his defence, she accordingly determined on supplying them, for with her, to will a work of mercy, was to set about its performance. So much tenderness of heart, mixed with so much heroism and energy in the practice of benevolence, are seldom found united in the same being. Her former efforts had pressed heavily on her resources, nevertheless she had immediate application made, through Mr. Ramsay, to Counsellors Bell and Joy to defend the prisoner. These gentlemen demanded £100 each for their attendance. The demand was complied with. Miss M'Cracken went among her friends, and those of Russell's, and collected a sum about £80. The remainder was made up by her, and the lawyers were brought down. Joy strenuously defended his client, though his politics were very different; he told Miss M'Cracken, after the trial, "he never in his life felt so interested for any man." In conversation with Russell, previous to the trial, he asked the latter his opinion of the French Government. Russell said, "It is a despotic government, but it is a new despotism, and a similar one, of a temporary kind, had overthrown the old—despotism in America." Miss M'Cracken had determined on attending the trial. To use her own words, "It was a duty she felt which she owed to her brother, for he loved Russell, and respected him above all his associates."

She received the following letter from Counsellor Joy, (subsequently Chief Baron of the Exchequer), in

\* It was not accident in either case.

reply to her intimated intention of attending the trial :—

“ MY DEAR MARY—The contents of your letter, which has just been brought me, so far from being surprised at, that I was prepared to expect them. I was convinced you would be desirous of evincing your friendship for Mr. R., at a time when you thought he would most require the kind offices of a friend. But, however, I honour the *motive*—I can hardly approve of the *act* ; I mean, circumstanced as you are. So far from being able to dispel your mother’s fears, I confess they are mine. Perhaps, whilst I am at Downpatrick, I shall be able to make some arrangement, which, if it does not come entirely up to your wishes, will approach as near them, as will be consistent with prudence. In the mean time, be assured, he shall know your kind intentions, and the motives which alone could induce you to abandon them—a regard for the happiness of those for whom you are bound to sacrifice every private gratification.

“ I am, my dear Mary, yours affectionately,

“ H. JOY.”

On Russell’s arrival at Downpatrick, some money was sent to him, by Miss M’Cracken, for his immediate wants ; but he told Mr. Ramsay he did not require it, and refused to take it.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. J. RAMSAY TO  
MISS M’CRACKEN.

“ *Downpatrick*, —, 1803.

“ The trial of Mr. Russell was postponed to-day, on account of the post, but will be proceeded with at an early hour to-morrow morning. His intention was, not to enter on a defence ; and nothing would have shaken this determination, but my representation, that a brief examination of the witnesses produced against him, might eventually benefit the other unfortunate

persons. I have spent every hour I had to spare with him. From what I can discover, I am afraid of the event. He is making every preparation, looking on his fate as determined.

(Signed) "J. R."

On the 19th of October, 1803, at a special commission, at Downpatrick, Thomas Russell was tried before Baron George, on a charge of high treason, under the 25th of Edward the Third. The Attorney-General, Mr. Standish O'Grady, and the Solicitor-General, Mr. M'Clelland, both subsequently Barons of the Exchequer, prosecuted for the crown; Counsellors Joy and Bell defended the prisoner.

Before the trial, Baron George called the high-sheriff, Mr. Matthew Forde, into court—"Mr. Forde, the present governor of the prison is not a trustworthy person. He is a drunkard; therefore, you, as sheriff, must remain in the prison, with the prisoner at the bar, as the government attach great importance to him, and he must be well watched." Mr. Sheriff Forde requested that he might be excused, for reasons of a private nature, and succeeded in getting permission for his land-agent, Mr. Gordon, a Scotchman, who had served in the Fencibles, to act as substitute for him.\*

The first witness examined, John Keenan, sworn—Said, he attended a meeting at Smith's public-house, at Anadorn, about four miles from Downpatrick, respecting an intended rising on the 23rd of July; *nine men present, drinking whiskey.* Mr. Russell was there; spoke of the rebellion going on in other parts, though it did not do so there; *that the French were then, probably, fighting in Scotland.*† He desired Drake to put on a green uniform, with lace and epaulets, which, on Drake's refusal, Mr. Russell tried it on,

\* In 1836, Mr. Gordon was living at Down, a magistrate, and agent to the son of the above-mentioned Mr. Forde, of Seaforde.

† This, evidently, is a fabrication of the witness. The assertion is contradicted by the evidence of Henry Smith.

and then took it off.\* One man said, he was able to raise 150 men; a man, named Corry, undertook to procure a map at Downpatrick. He, witness, drank during the business of the meeting; "*recollects drinking about three half-pints of whiskey.*"

Henry Smith, son of the publican at Anadorn, sworn—Said, the prisoner and Drake came on horseback to his father's, on a Friday morning; they called for half a pint of spirits, then another half pint; prisoner told witness of the intended rising; that the people of every parish were to take their own arms from the yeomen or Orangemen; that the loyal gentry, the sheriff, Mr. Forde, and Mr. Worsly, should be taken up, and brought in. Witness asked the prisoner, "*if the French were to come?*" He, the prisoner, answered, "*They were not; but that they were to send 30,000 stand of arms, to be landed at Kirheel.* They were joined by several others. "*One Doran got up and said, that none but madmen would join them,*" (the prisoner and Drake). Russell got angry, and said that would not do. He, witness, saw prisoner trying on a green military coat; he said *it was the dress of the French generals*; that *he and eleven others* came from France upon this business; that they were to take Dublin that night, and had £30,000 in some bank in Dublin. The prisoner had come from Saintfield, and went off in the direction of Downpatrick. Hugh M'Guinness saw prisoner at Loughlin Island, at the house of Fitzpatrick.

The Rev. James M'Carton, P. P., of Loughlin Island, sworn—Said, he saw, he thought, the prisoner at Fitzpatrick's, on the 22nd of July; he heard murmurs that day, and thought the French were on the coast. He would not swear positively, as to the prisoner, but had no reason to doubt he was the man he saw there.

Patrick Lynch, a professor of the Irish language—

\* Russell never put on the uniform. He said to one of his friends, that he had objected to taking it with him at all; but to please Emmet and Hamilton he carried it with him.

Said, he formerly had lived in Belfast, but then resided at Loughlin Island with his family. "He knew the prisoner, and was sorry to see him there, in the dock;" he had met him at the library in Belfast; he, witness, had given him lessons in the Irish language; he saw him at Loughlin Island, on the 22nd of July; prisoner went up to him to shake hands with him, but he, Lynch, refused, "knowing him to be an outlaw, but not wishing to hurt him." Russell said, he was to be considered as a horse-jockey, and desired to pass as such. He asked, if he could go in safety to Belfast? Witness said, there was danger. On the 23rd he saw Russell again, at Loughlin Island: said he had come from Belfast. Witness advised him to desist from his design, When some others came in, Russell asked them, "if they desired to get rid of the Sassenaghs?" The people seemed in consternation. The prisoner said, it was doubtful about Belfast, but the people of Down would act. There was another general for the county of Antrim. Prisoner said, "Forks, spades, shovels, and pick-axes, would do for arms." With regard to some observation about shedding blood, prisoner said, "he did not wish that any one should suffer; but they must get arms." Spoke of having *proclamations posted* on places of public worship; did not see any, *but they were expected* by a messenger, with other things, a sword and military hat. Fitzpatrick came to prisoner, and told him the people would not rise. Prisoner asked, where were the people who had been about the doors? Fitzpatrick said, he had desired them to go home; for a man of the name of Ranahan had come from Clough, and said, the people would not rise. Prisoner was then asked, what he would do? He said, he would go where there would be fighting, in the county of Antrim.

James Fitzpatrick said, the prisoner had been at his house on the 22nd; asked witness how the people were affected? Witness said, very loyal. The prisoner replied, he had been taught to believe otherwise. They should rise that night; those of Killinchy and

the low country would rise at any rate. Witness asked, *how could they rise without arms?* He went to bed about two o'clock, and remained there till between four and six.

Patrick Ranaghan sworn—Said, he lived at Clough; was at Fitzpatrick's on the 23rd; went into a room by invitation; saw Mr. Lynch and "the gentleman" in bed; the gentleman got up, and made some inquiries. Witness said, the people would not rise, the priest had cautioned them against it. It was reported about the country he had said, "*they would be hanged like dogs if they attempted it.*" The prisoner got up in a rage, and said, *I find there will be no rising in this place. I will go to Antrim or Belfast, where they will act. He said before this, that "he would take Mr. Forde, Captain Brown, and Mr. Worsley, but would not injure them; "he would serve them in the same manner as the prisoners on the other side would be served."* (The latter part of the declaration, if carried into effect, would have been death.)

John Tate, sworn—Said, James Corry, a shoemaker, of Downpatrick, brought him out on the night of the 22nd of July, to fight, as there was to be a rising; met in a field, where there were fourteen men ready to rise, but the only arms they had, were three pitchforks. Witness wanted to postpone the business till next night, but Corry refused; they only waited for a signal from Seaford, and a fire near Loughlin Island, but they were disappointed.

Major Sirr sworn—Proved the arrest of the prisoner, and the fact of his pulling out a pistol and presenting it at him.

The proclamation was produced, and the evidence for the crown having closed, the prisoner declined to call any witness in his defence, and allowed the case to go to the jury on such evidence as had been adduced on the part of the crown.

One of the objections taken by prisoner's counsel was, that the court had not power to try the case, inasmuch as the statute was an English one, and, there-

fore (being made before the act of Union), could not be binding on any Irish subject. This, like the other objections, was overruled by the Court.

The following particulars are chiefly taken from the report of Russell's trial published in "Medland and Weobly's Collection of Remarkable Trials," Vol. 2, p. 39.

The speech of Russell, that in all the published reports is so garbled and mutilated as hardly to give an idea of the substance, if M'Skimmins' may be excepted, is taken from the manuscript.

NOTES OF THE TRIAL OF THOMAS RUSSELL, FOUND AMONG THE PAPERS OF HIS LAW AGENT, MR. RAMSEY, OF BELFAST.\*

"Thomas Russell you stand indicted, &c.—In what manner will you be tried?"

"I really do not know the usual form of answering." Being told he answered—"By God and my country."

"You are at liberty to challenge, &c."

"As I DO NOT KNOW any of the gentlemen I shall make no objection."

After the statement of the case and evidence was gone through on the part of the Crown,

T. R. said—"I shall not trouble my lawyers to make any statement of my case. As the Attorney-General has mentioned my being included in a *bill*† I consider myself precluded from any defence, that is as a man of honour. There are but three possible modes of defence: first, by calling witnesses to prove the innocence of my conduct; secondly, by calling them to impeach the credit of opposite witnesses, or by proving an alibi. As I can resort to none of those modes of defence, without involving others, I consider myself precluded from any."

\* I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Edmund Getty, for this document, which he obtained from the successors, in business, of Mr. Ramsey —R. E. M.

† The Banishment bill, which made his return to Ireland a felony.

Previous to the Judge's charge he asked—"If it was not permitted to persons in his situation to say a few words, as he wished to give his valedictory advice to his countrymen, in as concise a manner as possible, being well convinced how speedy the transition was from that vestibule of the grave to the scaffold." He was told the proper time was previous to sentence, in arrest of judgment. When that time came he said:—

"Before I address myself to this audience I return my sincere thanks to my learned counsel for the exertions they have made, in which they have displayed so much talent. I return my thanks to the gentlemen on the part of the Crown for the accommodation and indulgence I have received during my confinement. I return my thanks to the gentlemen of the jury for the patient investigation they have afforded my case, and I return my thanks to the court for the attention and politeness they have shewn me during my trial. In what I shall say I shall advert to two things, the first, apparently trifling, my dress, and my political sentiments and conduct. The Attorney-General has been pleased to consider my dress in a ludicrous point of view. I could wish he would not turn tragedy into farce. The dress I now appear in, this black handkerchief, I always wore, even when I went into evening parties; as to my political sentiments I shall, in as brief a manner as possible (for I do not wish to engross the time of the court), say a few words. I look back to the last thirteen years of my life, the period in which I have interfered with the transactions of Ireland, with entire satisfaction, though for my share in them I am now about to die! The gentlemen of the jury having, by their verdict, put the seal of truth on the evidence given against me. Whether, at this time and in this country, situated as it is, it be safe to inflict the punishment of death upon me for the offence I am charged with I leave to the gentlemen who conduct the prosecution. My death, perhaps, may be useful in deterring others from following my example. It may serve as a memorial to others, and, on trying



occasions, it may inspire them with courage. I can now say, as far as my judgment enabled me, I acted for the good of the country and of the world. It may be presumptuous for me to deliver my opinions here as a statesman, but, as the government have singled me out as a leader, and given me the appellation of general, I am, in some degree, entitled to do so. To me it is plain that all things are verging towards a change when all shall be of one opinion. In ancient times we read of great empires having their rise and their fall, and yet do the old governments proceed as if all were immutable. From the time I could observe, and reflect, I perceived that there were too kind of laws, the laws of state and the laws of God, frequently clashing with each other; by the latter I have always endeavoured to regulate my conduct, but that laws of the former kind do exist in Ireland I believe no one who hears me can deny. That such laws have existed, in former times, many and various examples clearly evince. The Saviour of the world, Christ, suffered by the Roman laws, by the same laws his apostles were put to the torture and deprived of their lives, in his cause. By my conduct I do not consider that I have incurred any moral guilt. I have committed no moral evil. I do not want many and bright examples of those who have gone before me, but did I want this encouragement the recent example of a youthful hero, a martyr in the cause of liberty, who has just died for his country, would inspire me. I have descended into the vale of manhood, I have learned to estimate the reality and the delusions of this world; he was surrounded by everything which could endear this world to him, in the bloom of youth, with fond attachments, and with all the fascinating charms of health and innocence; to his death I look back, even in this, with rapture. I have travelled much, and seen various parts of the world, and I think the Irish the most virtuous nation on the face of the earth—they are a good and brave people, and had I a thousand lives I would yield them in

their service. If it be the will of God that I suffer, for that with which I stand charged, I am perfectly resigned to submit to His holy will and dispensation, but I know that unless He wills it, not a hair of my head can be touched ; as the soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ I will bow me down to whatever I may be ordained to undergo in this mortal world. I do not wish to trespass much more on the time of those that hear me, and did I do so an indisposition, which has seized me since I came into court, would prevent my purpose. Before I depart from this, for a better world, I wish to address myself to the landed aristocracy of this country. The word aristocracy I do not mean to use as an insulting epithet, but in the common sense of the expression.

“ Perhaps as my voice may now be considered as a voice crying from the grave, what I now say may have some weight. I SEE AROUND ME MANY, WHO, DURING THE LAST YEARS OF MY LIFE, HAVE DISSEMINATED PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH I NOW AM TO DIE. Those gentlemen who have all the wealth and power of the country in their hands, I strongly advise, and earnestly exhort, to pay attention to the poor,—by the poor, I mean the labouring class of the community, their tenantry and dependants. I advise them, for their good, to look into their grievances, to sympathize in their distresses, and to spread comfort and happiness around their dwellings. It might be, that they may not hold their power long, but, at all events, to attend to the wants and distresses of the poor, is their truest interest. If they hold their power, they will thus have friends around them, if they lose it, their fall will be gentle, and, I am sure, unless they act thus, they never can be happy. I shall now appeal to the Right Honourable Gentleman, in whose hands the lives of the other prisoners are, and entreat that he will rest satisfied with my death, and let that atone for those errors into which I may have been supposed to have deluded others. I trust the gentleman will restore them to their families and friends.

If he will do so, I can assure him that the breeze, which conveys to him the prayers and blessings of their wives and children, will be more grateful than that which may be tainted with the stench of putrid corpses, or carrying with it the cries of the widow and orphan. Standing, as I do, in the presence of God, and of man, I entreat him to let my life atone for the faults of all, and that my blood alone may flow!

“If I am, therefore, to die, I have two requests to make. The first is, that, as I have been for some time engaged in a work possibly of some advantage to the world, that I may be indulged with three days for its completion:—secondly, as there are those ties which even death cannot sever, and as there are those who may have some regard for what will remain of me after death, I request that my remains, disfigured as they will be, may be delivered, after the execution of the sentence, to those dear friends, that they may be conveyed to the ground where my parents are laid, and where those faithful few may have a consecrated spot over which they may be permitted to grieve. I have now to declare, when about to pass into the presence of Almighty God, that I feel no enmity in my mind to any being, none to those who have borne testimony against me, and none to the jury who have pronounced the verdict of my death.”

Baron George, here saying that the prisoner had gloried in his cause, was interrupted by Mr. Russell, (here the manuscript is defaced, and probably the words—“who said,” that are rendered illegible,) “he had not used that expression.”

“I am glad,” said the Judge, “that any thing I have said has changed your mind.” Mr. Russell replied, “My Lord, I could not be so presumptuous, I who am about to pass into the awful presence of God, as to say I gloried in any thing—I am a sinner, and know that I have many faults to answer for—I only said that I acted from the conviction of my own conscience.” The Judge then proceeded, &c.

Here ends the manuscript notes of Mr. Ramsay,

taken at the trial; of its authenticity there can be no doubt.

Russell had prepared another speech, but Counsellor Joy told him, "he never would be allowed to proceed with it, it was so political." He then prepared the foregoing address. The trial lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening.

Russell's remarkable allusion to the "many he saw around him, who, during the last years of his life, have disseminated principles for which he was then to die," referred to the gentlemen of the jury. Mr. James Rose Cleland, one of the petty jury, still living, was informed, by the Crown Solicitor, that Russell had said "there were six of the jury who were United Irishmen," but Mr. Cleland supposed he included, in this number, persons serving both on the grand and petty jury. A letter, however, of Mr. Cleland, dated from Rathgael, Bangor, the 18th November, 1843, to a friend of Russell's, puts the matter beyond dispute, as to the reference to the jury, or to the gentlemen of both the grand and petty juries. The account differs verbally from Ramsay's; that of Mr. Cleland is given "from a memorandum made from recollection, of one particular passage, some time after the trial."

"The trial of General Thomas Russell took place at Downpatrick, on the 20th of October, 1803; from the number of witnesses examined, it occupied the whole day. The petty jury, (of whom I was one,) were all gentlemen of landed property. Mr. John Crawford, of Crawfordsburn, and Mr. Eldred Pottinger, were on the grand jury. The General was convicted on the clearest evidence; on his being asked, what he had to say, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him, he made a long speech, professing highly honourable and religious principles, and also observed, that he could not but feel surprised to see gentlemen on the jury, (looking at the grand jury box,) who had often expressed and

advocated political opinions similar to those on which he acted, and for which he had forfeited his life, for the sentiments publicly delivered by them, had assisted to influence his conduct, having formed a high opinion of their honour, integrity, judgment, and ability; (it was supposed that he alluded to Mr. Crawford and Eldred Pottinger.) He afterwards told Captain Gordon, six of the jury were United Irishmen. (There were many conjectures who they were, but he included probably persons, on both grand and petty juries.) The Judge, on passing sentence, said he was sorry, and surprised, that a gentleman of education could so pervert his understanding, as to imagine that he was acting either honourably, or religiously, when he asserted to his ignorant followers what *he knew was untrue*, namely, that the French were landed in great force at Ballywalter, an untruth deliberately uttered for the purpose of deceiving poor ignorant men, and inducing them to join in acts of rebellion, by which they had forfeited their lives.

“The above is the only memorandum I have of Mr. Russell’s trial.\*

(Signed)

“J. D. ROSE CLELAND.”

The ruling passion, strong in death of Russell, is evinced in the earnest exhortation to the landed gentry *to pay attention to the poor, the labouring class of the community, their tenantry and dependants, to advise them for their good, to look into their grievances, to sympathise in their distresses, and to spread happiness and comfort around their dwellings.* These words will not be forgotten by his countrymen; they will be remembered when the names and the acts of hun-

\* The alleged assertion, referred to by Baron George, his Lordship omitted to state, was flatly contradicted by the evidence of the witness for the Crown, Henry Smith, who swore that when he asked the prisoner if the French were to come, he replied, “*they were not, but they were to send 30,000 stand of arms, to be landed at Kirkeel.*”

dreds of the distinguished apostates of his cause, when it was that of the landed and mercantile aristocracy of the north, shall be buried in oblivion.

## CHAPTER XI.

“RUSSELL’S last letter,” says Miss M’Cracken, “was to his sister, who, I think, must have been about fifteen years older than he was, and whom he described, in a letter to a friend, to whom he recommended her, on his departure from Fort George, as ‘having trained him in the paths of religion and virtue.’ This letter was, unfortunately, among the lost papers; it commenced in these terms:—

“MY EVER DEAR SISTER,—I write this on the day on which I am to die.’

“The tenor of it was to exhort her to bear the afflicting dispensation like a Christian, in language the most tender, and affectionate, and pious; ‘directing her, for comfort, to the hopes and promises of the Gospel; and encouraging her to look forward to their meeting in a better world, when God would wipe all tears from their eyes.’

“I shall never cease,” continues Miss M’Cracken, “to regret the loss of this letter; it was at once edifying and affecting, showing the character of an affectionate relative, an ardent patriot, and a devoted Christian. It concluded with a prayer for her happiness.”\*

\* Since the above was written, the note referred to, of which the following is a copy, came into my hands:—

NOTE OF THOMAS RUSSELL TO HIS SISTER, ADDRESSED “MISS RUSSELL, TO BE GIVEN AFTER MY DEATH.”

“July 15.

“MY EVER DEAR SISTER,—Should I fall in the great cause, in which I am embarked, I trust you will shew, by your fortitude, that

“ He wrote a note in court, which was addressed to Mr. Cole, of Dublin, (then in Downpatrick,) relative to his funeral, in these words :—‘ Should Mr. Ramsay be too much engaged to attend to my funeral, and Mr. Cole be in town, I beg he will undertake that office, and either of them inform my sister of the event.’

“ In Mr. Russell’s last letter to myself, he said, in reference to the wish and intention which my sister and I had of going to see him, that ‘ he was glad we did not come, as it might injure us, and could not benefit him. We thought it might gratify his sister—my brother Frank had sent a young man to Downpatrick, Thomas Hughes, who had been a clerk in Kemmis’s office, to render Russell all the assistance he could give him.’”

“ The execution took place about noon, on the 21st of October, 1803, the day after the trial. The Rev. Mr. Forde, a clergyman of the Church of England, attended Russell, in the brief interval between conviction and execution. He had been brought up in the Protestant religion; for some time, during his residence in Belfast, previous to his first imprisonment, he so far seceded from the Church of England, as to attend the Presbyterian place of worship. Mr. Forde observed that he made use of a Greek Testament; he said he was in the habit of reading it, from choice, in the

you approve my principles, and, by your resignation, that you are a real Christian. You will be in my thoughts to the last moment; and, I trust, we will rise together to a blessed immortality. The nation, will, I am sure, support you. May our God and Saviour protect you, and pardon my sins.

“ Remember it’s in the cause of Virtue and Liberty I fall. I trust you will have me buried beside my father and mother.

(Signed)

“ T. RUSSELL.”

Appended to the original note, given me by Charles Teeling, there is a slip of paper, with the following words, in the hand-writing. I believe, of Miss Russell :—“ The Lord is nigh to them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit.”

original. Just before going to execution, he gave this testament to the Rev. Mr. Forde, in whose family it now is, and is kept as a relic.

“The time was so short, that no other preparations could be made for the erection of a scaffold, than the placing of two barrels under the gateway of the main entrance to the prison, with some planks placed upon them, as a platform, and others sloping up, as from the ground, by which it was ascended. On the ground near these, on the right-hand, coming from the prison, were placed a sack of saw-dust, a block, an axe, and a knife.

“Russell was conducted from the prison to this place, pinioned, and attended by the Sub-Sheriff, J. Fulton, of Lisburne, and a person named Gordon, who acted as *substitute* for Mr. Forde, the High Sheriff of Down. Forde was distantly connected with Russell.

“On reaching the gateway, where the preparations were made, Russell said, ‘is this the place?’ After ascending the platform, he spoke a short time to Mr. Fulton, and then looked forward through the gateway to the troops and people, who were beyond them, and, in a clear firm voice said—‘I forgive my persecutors; I die in peace with all mankind, and I hope for mercy through the merits of my Redeemer Jesus Christ.’ He then turned round, and, addressing himself to the Sub-Sheriff, and the few gentlemen who were present in the prison-yard, with an expression of great benignity and perfect calmness, said—‘gentlemen, may God Almighty bless you all.’ His manner was perfectly calm and collected. The cap was then put on—the planks knocked away. He died without apparently suffering.

“The executioner then lowered down the body; the barrels and planks were removed, and the gates closed. The decapitation then took place—the gates were again opened—the barrels and planks replaced, and the executioner, holding the head *in his hands*, displayed it for an instant, and the gates were again closed.”



The above account was received from a gentleman, of the name of Anderson, living in Downpatrick, who was present at the execution, on duty.

Russell was buried in the church-yard of the parish church; a plain slab is laid over his grave, and on it is written—

“THE GRAVE OF RUSSELL.”

Two other executions followed Russell's—those of Drake and Corry, charged with the same offence. Some curious occurrences, connected with disclosures of the latter, will be found revealed in the following letter of a gentleman, of Downpatrick, on the subject of a mission undertaken by him, at the request of the Attorney-General, to obtain information from the prisoner, Corry, after his conviction.

LETTER FROM MR. J. NELSON TO S. RUTHVEN.

“*Downpatrick, 20th November, 1803.*”

“SIR,—Since your inquiry concerning J. Quail, which I answered on Saturday, I am much concerned to find that several others are likely to be implicated in the same manner; and, in order to avoid suspicion from being construed into guilt, I feel it an act of justice, which I owe to the individuals concerned, to declare to you what I know of the matter. Shortly after Corry receiving his sentence, a gentleman of this town waited on me, with a message from the Attorney-General, requesting that I would use my best endeavours to obtain from Corry any discoveries relating to the conspiracy in which he had been engaged. That conspiracy, as then brought to light, appeared to me so atrocious, that I considered it the duty of any good subject, of any good man, or of any man who regarded the safety of all he held dear, to contribute what he could to develope it in any of its branches; and, so far from being ashamed of under-

taking the inquiry, I considered it a meritorious service, and promised that I would do it.

“ Upon my examination of Corry, I was convinced that he had never been entrusted with any material secrets, nor even with the knowledge of the general plan ; but merely employed as a tool and a messenger by a certain conspirator, at present not to be found. He told me, from the information of that employer, the names of three persons who, he said, had been in the habit of attending meetings in Belfast, Newtownards, &c., as delegates from this barony, to confer with similar delegates from other places, at which meetings Russell, and other managers, attended. He also mentioned, from the same authority, the names of two persons, who were employed by those delegates to procure for them a return of all the arms to be had here ; for which purpose they communicated with a certain serjeant, who promised to procure for them such return, which he did not perform.

The above being the information of another man to Corry, I could not consider it as evidence ; but, thinking the facts very material, and that this might serve as a clue for other investigation, I communicated it, in writing, to Mr. Forde, the High-Sheriff, to be forwarded to the Attorney-General. And this is all I had any thoughts of saying, until having mentioned to the gentleman, above alluded to, some names of people whom Corry mentioned to me as having been informed of the business, though not concerned in it, and which I, therefore, told him I did not mean to repeat ; and he having, as he told me, mentioned this to Mr. Forde, he desired to have the names, telling me that it might turn out hereafter that some among them had been more deeply concerned ; or if any thing should appear to this purpose, the present would serve to corroborate it ; but that of itself it could do them no harm. On this, I thought it no harm to add their names at the foot of the communication ; but took care, at the same time, to mention in the same writing,

that Corry told me they were only informed, and not concerned.

“ To what degree this information extended, whether it was given immediately by Corry, or whether he was only told that they, or some of them, were informed, I never thought of asking him, because he told me they were not concerned. I know the law holds a man guilty who hears of a conspiracy, and does not discover it; but I can readily believe, that people might get some kind of information, without having any idea of the extent or malignity of the design, which should induce them to make information of it; and I have, since that time, met with some as loyal men in the kingdom, who were told of the business on the 23rd July, and paid little attention to it, probably not conceiving of any thing so serious. Besides, from Corry himself not having been entrusted with the knowledge of the general plans, he could not have communicated it; and, I suppose, that whatever the information was, it had not excited much alarm. He did not mention to me any names, otherwise than as above stated, except one man, at whose house he commonly left the letters he carried from his employer, to be forwarded to certain persons at Shute, concerned in the business. Whether this man knew anything of the contents of those letters, or not, I cannot give an opinion, as Corry seemed never to have had any communication with him on the subject. In consequence of the charge brought against James Quail, I wrote last night to the Attorney-General, expressing my surprise and concern that my words should have been understood otherwise than as I intended or understood them myself.....

(Signed) “ J. NELSON.”

That amiable being, whose devotion to her friends was not that kind of friendship which, as circumstances change, “ plays fast and loose with faith,” had caused that stone to be inscribed and placed over

the grave of Russell, which has been referred to in a preceding account.

With her the adversity of those she loved or honoured seemed to give new claims to friendship. The more calamity pursued them, and obloquy followed in the footsteps of misfortune, the faster they were abandoned by those who fawned on them in prosperity: the greater the terror, that made fear in other bosoms "almost freeze up the heat of life," and deter the friends of "the marked men," of those times, from acknowledging birth or kindred, sympathy or communion, with the prescribed, the more the brave spirit and the kind heart of Mary M'Cracken seemed to triumph over the natural timidity of her sex, and the difficulties occasioned by the continual pressure of the claims of her unfortunate friends on her generosity.

Hughes returned from Downpatrick after discharging the mission he had been sent on; he brought back with him the papers of Russell; he was again employed, by Miss M'Cracken, to superintend the placing of the stone over Russell's grave—the money given for this purpose was ten guineas. In 1837 the nephew of Russell, the son of William Henry Hamilton, on his return to Ireland, and another relative, recently arrived in that country, after a separation of many years, met by accident in Downpatrick, and visited the grave of Russell.

Miss M'Cracken had ineffectually attempted to have the wishes of Russell carried into effect, with respect to the disposal of his remains, and to have the papers of his, which had been seized at his sister's, restored, and the work, likewise, which he spoke of at his trial as having been for some time previously engaged writing. These matters I find referred to in a letter of Miss M'Cracken's. "I wrote to Mr. Joy, requesting that he would procure leave for the fulfilment of Mr. Russell's wish to have his remains removed to Dublin, and, lastly, that he would procure the papers, principally consisting of copies of letters written to

different friends, and a journal which he had kept while in India, which I thought, with a book and such a history of his life as these, with the information that his sister could give, might be published to raise a fund for Miss Russell's support, but did not succeed."

As to the removal of his body Mr. Ramsay told me that he did not expect it could be done until *the country*, which Mr. Russell and my brother Harry had died for, was differently situated.

The subject of the work Russell occupied himself with during his last confinement was the Revelations of St. John. It is to be borne in mind that his last request was—that this manuscript should be given to his sister, that she was a person of strong religious impressions, and, being considerably older than her brother, it was to her instruction that the deep sense of the importance of religion which was felt by him was to be attributed. This work may, therefore, be looked upon as an evidence he wished to give his sister, that those early impressions, which her instruction had made upon his mind, remained to the close of life. Dr. Trevor, the Inspector of Prisons, was entrusted, by Russell, with this work, accompanied by a letter for his sister; the book she never received, and Miss M'Cracken heard about a year or two ago, that it had fallen into the hands of a Mr. Dubourdieu, now living near Dublin, whose father, a great many years ago, kept a Classical School at Lisburn, at which Bartholemew and Charles Teeling were educated. Mr. James Rose Cleland, however, states, that the work had been in the possession of Chief Baron McClelland.

Miss Margaret Russell, the only sister of Thomas Russell, at the death of the latter, was left wholly destitute. The indefatigable benevolence of Miss M'Cracken, did not, however, leave her long without assistance. A subscription was set afoot, by the former, in Belfast, and the sum of £40 was collected and forwarded to Miss Russell. Among the persons applied to on this occasion was Mr. Wm. Sinclair, a member

of the Secret Committee of Belfast in the year 1791, out of which had sprung the Society of United Irishmen. To this gentleman Russell attributed his first connexion with the politics of Belfast, and the views on which he subsequently acted. When Russell was in prosperous circumstances Mr. Sinclair was a smiling friend—solicitous about his welfare. I think it is Sir Giles Overeach who says (as well as I remember, for I quote from memory)—“ We, worldly men, when we once perceive the least rub in your fortunes lend no hand to lift you up, but rather set our foot upon your neck to keep you down, but now that you’re about to rise I can, and will, assist you.” Mr. Sinclair acted on this principle. Russell had declined an offer of his of pecuniary assistance when he sold his commission, and was then in the possession of some means; but subsequently, the time is not stated, but I presume it was after he had relinquished his appointment in Dunganon, Russell applied to him for £100, to enable him to take a small farm in the neighbourhood of Belfast, and was refused. On Miss M’Cracken’s application for Russell’s sister to this gentleman, he declined to put down his name to the subscription list, but *sent two pounds*. The account between this mercantile magnate and Russell’s sister stood thus:

William Sinclair, debtor to Miss Margaret Russell, the life of her brother—the forfeit of the principles imbibed from William Sinclair.

Margaret Russell, creditor to William Sinclair, two pounds sterling, in full of all demands on his friendship for the late Thomas Russell.

A Mr. Skeffington, subsequently Lord Massarene, hearing of this subscription, gave information against Miss M’Cracken, charging her with raising money to buy arms. Miss M’Cracken, who was held in the highest respect, even by the Orangemen, among the authorities of Belfast, received a friendly hint that it would be advisable for her, for some time, “ to keep out of the way.” Miss M’Cracken, true to her noble

character, kept her ground; she rejected the advice of friends as well as foes on this point.

I think it right to state, that much of the information, and many of the preceding documents illustrative of the noble conduct of Miss M'Cracken towards her friends, were obtained, with great difficulty, from her, and that her reluctance to give any papers which referred to any act of hers could not have been surmounted, had it not been for the pressing solicitations of her niece, and my own urgent and repeated applications.

The following letter was addressed, by Miss M'Cracken, soon after Russell's death, to his sister :

“MY DEAR MADAM—Fearful of intruding unseasonably, I have hitherto forborne to write to you; and, perhaps, even yet I may be unsuccessful in attempting to offer any consolation. None but those who have been taught by experience, can know how inefficacious all human comfort is, and that nothing but a strong sense of religion, and the hope of meeting again in a happier state, can support us under those trying separations, from friends dear to us as our existence, and in losing whom, we seem to have lost a part of ourselves. Yet, whilst we endeavour to submit to the dispensations of Providence without repining, we cannot help feeling, most sensibly, the loss our country, and ourselves individually, have sustained, in being deprived of such bright examples of every virtue. But, at the same time, we must acknowledge, our regrets are selfish; for, that the removal of one of these from this world, of whom it is hardly worthy, must be to him a happy change. As you, doubtless, will be anxious to know every particular respecting the melancholy event, I think it incumbent on me to inform you, that the public papers are full of the grossest falsehoods and misrepresentations; and that you are not to put confidence in any reports you may hear, until you may see a gentleman, a friend of

mine, who will call on you in the course of eight or ten days, from whom it will, perhaps, gratify you to hear what, no doubt, you expect to hear—that the composure, dignity, and firmness, of our beloved friend, both on his trial, and at the last awful scene, commanded the esteem, admiration, and astonishment of all who beheld him. Those even, who had never before had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and who had only for a few days an opportunity of conversing with him, found themselves attached to him by an extraordinary and irresistible impulse, such as they had never felt for any man before. Even those who had been most active in pursuing him to death, now launch out in his praise, and lament the necessity they imagine themselves to have been under, of making him a sacrifice. But their praise, their admiration, and their regrets, are of no avail. At the conclusion of his trial, he addressed the court in a speech the most beautiful, affecting, and dignified, during which, the most profound silence prevailed, and all were compelled to acknowledge, however they might differ from him in opinion, that they believed him to have been actuated by the purest intentions.

“It will also be a satisfaction to you to know, that he expressed the highest sense of obligation to government for the kind, polite, and respectful treatment which he received. He desired that his remains should be decently interred in the church-yard of Downpatrick, by one who had formerly the pleasure of his acquaintance, and with whose kind attentions he expressed himself much gratified.\* All the articles he had in his possession are taken care of by a gentleman of the strictest integrity, and will be delivered you shortly, excepting the letter to you, and the book he had been occupied in writing, which were taken charge of by Dr. Trevor, and who handed them over to the Attorney-General (M’Clelland).....

\* I believe the person alluded to, was a very honest man, Mr. W. Cole, a shoemaker, of Dublin, in whose house Neilson had been se- creted during his stay in Dublin, on his return from Holland.



“Wishing you that comfort which the world can neither give nor take away, I remain, joined by my sister in every kind and affectionate regard,

“Dear Madam, yours most truly,

(Signed) “M. A. M'CRACKEN.”

Miss Russell died the latter end of September, 1834, aged 82 years, at a charitable asylum for aged females, in indigent circumstances, at Drumcondra, called “The Retreat,” where she had been since the year 1821. She had gained admission into that asylum, through the exertions of Miss M'Cracken. Previously to that time, frequent contributions had been made by Miss M'Cracken for her support. For some time she had lived with the Hamiltons.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MISS M'CRACKEN TO  
MRS. HAMILTON, THE NIECE OF THOMAS RUSSELL.

“Though personally unknown to you, my sister and myself are acquainted with your situation. You will pardon our presumption for thus daring to intrude on you, and entreating your acceptance of the enclosed. It comes from those who have suffered in the same cause with yourself, to an extent that can never be repaired, and whose greatest consolation is, that of being useful to others, particularly their fellow-sufferers in the cause of humanity and liberty; in our cause, which is that of truth and justice—the cause of Ireland. Surely you would not wish to deny the unfortunate the only real delight this world affords. If you will not accept it as a gift, at least you may, without hesitation, receive it as a loan, which, when your own situation, and that of our unhappy country, amends, you can repay to the unfortunate.

(Signed) “M. A. M'CRACKEN.”

Thomas Russell died in his thirty-seventh year. He is described in the advertisement of 1803, offering

a reward for his apprehension, as a man of about five feet eleven inches in stature, (his height, however, somewhat exceeded six feet); his deportment was stately and gentleman-like; the carriage of the soldier was not relinquished with his profession. His hair was perfectly black and abundant; his eyes were of a dark brown; his complexion sallow. The expression of his features was quite free from levity, but full of amenity and "kindliness" of nature. His manners and address were fascinating to such an extent, that strangers were struck with the impressiveness and persuasiveness of both. He spoke deliberately, in a clear, distinct, mild, and insinuating tone. I take this account of his personal appearance from those who had been most intimately acquainted with him. He could not bear to hear a word spoken against religion. In 1795, a gentleman made some observation in his presence of an irreligious tendency. Russell walked out of the room. The occurrence took place at the lodgings of Henry M'Cracken, at Holywood. He had such a veneration for the Scriptures, that he commenced learning Hebrew, for the purpose of reading them in the original language. He was a man of the highest sense of honour, and of the obligations which patriotism imposed upon him. Indeed, his notions in regard to both were of a chivalrous character, —there was not one particle of selfishness, of envy, of arrogance, or of ambition in them. The dominant idea that had taken possession of his mind was, that the laws of God were outraged in Ireland, above all other countries he had seen, in the mal-treatment of the people, the rapacity of their landlords, the tyranny of their local rulers, and the wickedness of the government, which not only tolerated the oppression, but ruled on the principle, that disunion was essential to its power.

Mr. Francis Jordan, formerly of Belfast, whom Tone makes honourable mention of in his diary, lately informed me, that having a great regard for Russell, he waited on his friend, Dr. M'Donnell, with whom he

lodged, to warn him of the reports that were current, of the perilous affairs he was engaged in. Dr. M'Donnell, in reply, said—"I have reasoned with him; but no power on earth can make any impression on him. It is part and parcel of his existence."

I extract the following passages from two letters of Dr. M'Donnell, which have reference to this subject:

"I mentioned to you, having had an interview with Dr. Whitley Stokes, of Dublin, Tone, and Russell, that Sampson was my brother-in-law. I had a high degree of friendship with many of them, and felt their calamities with the deepest pain and agony; but yet, I never, at any time, entered into their peculiar views, although I did not go against them, and took a great aversion to the oath, which became, from a particular duty, their bond of union. Dr. Stokes, and the Rev. James Bryson, of Belfast, withdrew from their society, when that was proposed by Dr. Drennan. The celebrated Richard Kirwan,\* of Dublin, (the friend of Macneven), had been proposed as a member in the club, but withdrew his name on hearing of that test. It was no 'Popish rebellion,' but hatched and matured by Protestants, principally Dissenters, in this town, pushed forwards in Dublin, sent back to us concocted in Dublin, and many of them excellent men."

"Russell and Tone had both faults, as well as perfections, and were, in many respects, like other men,—neither of them were addicted to study or reading. Tone took up a thing readily, and was perspicuous and discriminating: Russell, on the contrary, was diffuse, easily taken with novelties, and soon generalized. He dwelt much (and this increased upon him) upon religious politics, particularly the obscure parts of Scripture; and I have been told, spent the last weeks

\* Dr. Macneven, to my knowledge, thought otherwise. He stated, that he had administered the United Irishman's oath to Kirwan.—  
R. R. M.

of his life in writing a commentary upon the Apocalypse, which he thought he understood and could apply. The same was the case with the great Lord Napier, author of the Logarithms; and yet his writings upon the Apocalypse are quite ridiculous, and most absurd, filled with stories about Antichrist, and quite bewildered in his judgment."

We must remember that we are now reading the life of Thomas Russell by the glimmering light of the history of the failure of his attempt, and judging of his actions, without being sensible of so doing, by the record of his conviction at Downpatrick, and the remembrance of the obloquy which that conviction carried with it. Had that attempt been successful, or had that trial at Downpatrick terminated in an acquittal, how mightily would our opinion of his intellectual and moral qualities have been enhanced. I am fully aware, Russell was not a man of transcendent talents; he was not a man calculated to guide, and control, and direct the affairs of a national movement—of a people in revolt—to a successful issue.

Men, like Russell, of exalted notions of honour,—of purity of principle,—of unswerving integrity,—of unbounded confidence in others, whom they judge of as they would be judged by them,—of great hopes in the justice of their cause,—and of enthusiastic expectations of its success: these are the men, whose blood brings forth in due time, the buds and blossoms of liberty: they seem ordained to be its martyrs, and not the master spirits, who are permitted to lead its followers into the promised land.

M'Cracken, in reply to an observation of his sister, that if they failed, they would lose their lives, said, "Whether we fail or succeed, we expect to be the first to fall." Russell, interrupting him, said, with great energy of manner, "But of what consequence are our lives, or the lives of a few individuals, compared to the liberty and happiness of Ireland?"

The question of the probability of success in the

business he engaged in, is one on the solution of which the character of Russell must mainly depend, and that determination can only be arrived at, when we are in a condition to pronounce a judgment on the plans and proceedings of Robert Emmet. The memoir of that gentleman will furnish, I hope, sufficient data for the formation of such a judgment. Russell's effort was but a part of the general design, and when the latter failed the former, as a matter of consequence, could not prove otherwise than unsuccessful.

That there were extravagant hopes of success, undue and unbounded confidence in the representations of individuals who did "*not choose to appear in the business,*" extraordinary perfidy on the part of seeming friends, and no less extraordinary apparent remissness in the vigilance of government, there can be no doubt, I freely admit that no guilt is superior, in enormity, to that which risks the lives of innocent men in a rash, ill-considered enterprize, whose success is not only problematical but improbable, and which, if achieved, would still be purchased at too dear a price. In the mean time it may safely be affirmed, whatever our determination may be with respect to the general plan, the part that was taken in it by Thomas Russell was that of a man whose views, whether right or wrong, were directed to one end, and that end, the great aim and object of his existence, the honour of the character of his country, and the happiness of its people.

There never was a man who loved his country and his countrymen with more intense feelings of devotion than Thomas Russell. To the very intensity of those feelings is to be mainly attributed the unfortunate termination of his career. They misled his judgment, but the evils which an iniquitous government, at the outset of his career, had inflicted on Ireland, were sufficient to bring sober minded persons to that point of which McIntosh speaks, when he says—"men feel more than they can reason," and he might have added reason only as if they felt their wrongs were not to be endured.

In concluding this memoir, I have to express my thorough conviction that the subject of it, and his friend Robert Emmet, were the victims of a perfidy of the most subtle description, and that fouler treachery was never committed than was practised on their "noble natures." This subject, in its proper place, will be treated of. I trust the matter, thus slightly referred to, will be borne in mind, while the author expresses his entire concurrence in the following observations of Edmund Burke :—

"A rash recourse to force is not to be justified in a state of real weakness. Such attempts bring on disgrace, and, in their failure, discontentment, and discourage more rational attempts. But reason is to be hazarded, though it may be perverted by craft and sophistry, for reason can suffer no loss from shame, nor can it impede any useful plan or future policy."\*

\* Letter of Burke to a member of the National Assembly, 1791, page 4.



## APPENDIX.

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CORRESPONDENCE AND DETAILS OF PERSONAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CAPTAIN JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG AND DR. MADDEN, RESPECTING SOME PASSAGES IN THE WORK OF THE LATTER, IN REFERENCE TO THE EVIDENCE GIVEN ON THE TRIAL OF HENRY AND JOHN SHEARES.

No. 1.

*“ Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland,  
“ August 15, 1843.*

“ SIR—I have lately read your well written, entertaining and interesting ‘History of the United Irishmen.’ You have made some mistakes, which, if I had an opportunity of seeing you, I could point out. If you ever come to Ireland, and will let me know, I will go to Dublin for the purpose.

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ J. W. ARMSTRONG.

“ To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D.”

No. 2.

*“ 6, Salisbury-st., Strand, London,  
“ September, 1843.*

“ SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated 15th August, and to inform you, that it only reached me on Saturday last, on my arrival in this city from the continent.

“ My absence from London was the cause of its remaining so long unanswered.

“ I conclude I am addressing the Capt. J. Warneford



Armstrong, whose name is connected with the history of some of those ill-fated gentlemen whose lives I have attempted to illustrate. In the performance of my task, it is probable, I have fallen into some mistakes, nay it would have been impossible to have totally avoided error in the treatment of a subject which makes it necessary to recur to records, too frequently found not so much of facts as of the conflicting impressions of them, and to the reminiscences of men whose faculties have to be carried back to events which happened five-and-forty years ago.

“ You are pleased to say, if I ever come to Ireland you will come up to Dublin, for the purpose of pointing out those errors to me. The freedom with which I have treated of those matters, in which your name has been mixed up, makes it imperative on me to accept the proffered information, in order that if I have, in any degree, done injustice to you, I may, to the fullest extent, and by the first opportunity afforded me, make reparation for it. But permit me, at the same time, to say, that, with the information I am at present in possession of, and with the feelings I now entertain on those points to which I have referred, in connection with your name, I have nothing to unsay or wish unsaid, except in one passage respecting a Captain Armstrong, who visited Lady Louisa Connolly shortly after the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; there is an ambiguity in that passage which it was my intention to clear up in a second edition of my work.

“ I had no idea of going to Ireland just now, but I think it is a duty I owe to truth to avail myself of any information which may enable me to do justice, not only to the dead, but to the living also, in whatever relation the latter may stand to the memory of the former. I will, God willing, be in Dublin on Wednesday or Thursday next, and on my arrival will inform you of my address there.

“ I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ R. R. MADDEN.

“ To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,

“ Ballycumber, Clara, Ireland.”

## No. 3.

“ 15, *Rathmines, Dublin,*  
 “ 28th *Sept.*, 1843.

“ SIR—I beg leave to apprise you of my arrival in Dublin; should it suit your convenience to meet me on Monday next, the 2nd of October, at No. 15, Rathmines, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, I shall be in readiness to communicate with you, respecting those errors in my recent work which you inform me I have fallen into.

“ I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

“ R. R. MADDEN.

“ To Capt. J. W. Armstrong,

“ &c. &c. &c.”

## No. 4.

“ *Ballycumber, Clara, Oct. 2,* 1843.

“ SIR—I have received both your letters, the first arrived here when I was in Dublin, the second came also whilst I was absent attending the Show of an Agricultural Society, and I did not return until it was too late to write.

“ I am obliged to be in Dublin on the 24th instant, and if you stay so long in Dublin I would call upon you on the 25th; however, if it should not be convenient for you to do so, I will go up on the receipt of your letter.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ J. W. ARMSTRONG.

“ To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D.,

15, Rathmines, Dublin.

## No. 5.

“ *Ballycumber, Clara, October 4,* 1843.

“ SIR—I have this moment received your letter, and shall go to Dublin to-morrow morning, and shall

call upon you on Friday—you must perceive that it is impossible to be there sooner.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ J. W. ARMSTRONG.

“ To R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D.,

“ 15, Rathmines, Dublin.”

Minutes of an interview with Captain J. W. Armstrong, the 6th October, 1843, at No. 15, Rathmines, Dublin.

“ 6th of October, 1843.

“ Captain John Warneford Armstrong having applied to me, by letter, for an interview, with reference to some alleged errors in the first series of my work, ‘ The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen,’ I met him, by appointment, at No. 15, Rathmines, Dublin, Counsellor O’H——, at my request, being present.

“ The following notes, of the leading topics of Captain Armstrong’s communication, were taken by me on the spot, during the conversation in question.

“ At page 65, Vol. II., Captain Armstrong referred to a citation, in my work, from Mr. Moore’s Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, respecting the visit of a Captain Armstrong to Lady Sarah Napier, after the arrest at Bonds, and also to an observation of mine in regard to this visit—Captain Armstrong states that ‘ he never visited Lady Sarah Napier at any period, and that he was not acquainted even with her name.’ I replied to Captain Armstrong that, subsequently to the publication of the first series of my work, I had received a communication from a relative of Lady Sarah Napier, (Major General William Napier,) which left no doubt on my mind that the Captain Armstrong referred to on that occasion was a gentleman somewhat acquainted with the Leinster family, whose intentions could not be called in question, and that he, Captain John Warneford Armstrong, was not the

person referred to in the above mentioned passage, and that, as I had informed him in my reply to his first communication, it was my intention to give the information I had received on this point, in the second edition of my work.

“At page 88, Vol. II., first series, Captain Armstrong says, in reference to his first interview with the Sheares, that ‘it was not sought by him, it was not sought by the government, it was in fact unknown to them, nor was it sought by the Sheares. It was sought by Byrne, the bookseller, whose shop he frequented. Byrne believed his sentiments to be similar to his own; he said one day to some person in the shop, pointing to the green which he Captain Armstrong wore—this man wears a green, and he is a croppy for all that. Captain Armstrong believes the wish, for the introduction to the Sheares, originated with Byrne. Captain Armstrong states, that the assertion in Mr. Curran’s work, and repeated in mine, that on the occasion of his dining with the Sheares, he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares, was utterly unfounded; he had never done so—nor had Mrs. Sheares played on the harp for him; he never recollected having seen the children at all, but there was a young lady, of about fifteen, there, whom he met at dinner. The day he dined there, (and he dined there only once,) he was urged by Lord Castlereagh to do so—it was wrong to do so—and he, Captain Armstrong, was sorry for it, but he was persuaded by Lord Castlereagh, to go there to dine, for the purpose of getting further information.’

“In reference to an observation of mine, on his anxiety to join his regiment, after having given information about the Sheares, Captain Armstrong said, ‘when he acquainted Lord Castlereagh with his desire to join his regiment, which had just gone into the County Kildare against the rebels, Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to dissuade him, not, perhaps, from any anxiety for his personal safety on his own account, but on account of the necessity for his appearance at

the approaching trial of the Sheares. His, Captain Armstrong's reason for wishing to join his regiment was, to prevent giving people a pretext, for imputing his absence, at such a period, to cowardice.'

"At page 175, Vol. II., first series, in reference to the evidence of Mr. Drought, respecting Captain Armstrong's account of the circumstances which took place at Blackmore Hill with pikes and green cockades, and one was hanged, another was shot, and the third was flogged, Captain Armstrong stated, 'Drought's evidence was false—it is true on that occasion one man was shot, one man was hanged, and the other was whipped, but this was not done by his orders, it was done by the orders of some other person. The commanding officer was Sir James Duff, but he does not say it was done by his orders. *I asked* was there a court-martial held on the occasion? Captain Armstrong replied there was no court-martial. It was quite sufficient that they were found with pikes and green cockades. *I asked* was he, Captain Armstrong, quite certain that all the men had pikes and green cockades—*he* replied he did not know for a certainty, but believes, and is pretty sure, they all had. There was an engagement the same day, after this event, on Blackmore Hill with the rebels.'

"At page 177, Vol. II., first series—in reference to the evidence of Mr. Robert Bride, on the trial of the Sheares, respecting some expressions of his as to oaths being words, and words being as wind, or some such terms; which having been used about that time in a pamphlet by ———.

"He, Captain Armstrong, might have repeated—he, Captain Armstrong, protested that the inference drawn by Mr. Bride, from these careless words, about the obligation of an oath was erroneous, and that he never doubted the solemn obligation of an oath.

"At page 179, Vol. II., first series, in reference to a statement in my work, respecting the name of Clibborn, in the secret service money, being supposed by me to have been the Captain Clibborn by whose advice he had given the interview to the Sheares.

Captain Armstrong stated that this sum of money was given to Mr. George Clibborn, a very active magistrate in the County of Westmeath, the father of his friend Captain John Clibborn, and not, as I had supposed to the latter, and to the magistrate for expenses, &c. He supposed that the money was not given as a reward to him, but to meet expenses incurred in paying for such services as magistrates are in the habit of receiving.

“ Captain Armstrong likewise thinks that I was in error, in supposing the report, of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, respecting the conspiracy of the United Irishmen, was drawn up by Lord Castlereagh. It was drawn up by a gentleman, *in the service* of Lord Castlereagh, of the name of Knox, commonly called ‘spectacle Knox.’ He was not the brother of Lord Northland, he acted as a sort of Private Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, he was an able clever man.

“ In two, or three places, in the second volume, first series, Captain Armstrong refers to an error in the spelling of his name, the letter e being omitted in the name Warneford. He also corrects the error of calling him, in some places, Lieutenant Armstrong instead of Captain. In conclusion, Captain Armstrong states, that he never was a United Irishman; that he never was a Orangeman; that the original interview, he had referred to with Lord Castlereagh, which was (his first acquaintance with him,) was subsequent to his, Captain Armstrong’s introduction to the Sheares. That when Byrne proposed the interview to him, having followed him out to the door, and said to him in the street, ‘would you have any objection to meet the Sheares,’ it instantly flashed across his mind for what object the interview was sought, that he consented to it, and immediately went to his friend Captain Clibborn, and was advised by him to meet the Sheares; that after his interview with them, he was introduced, by Colonel L. Estrange, to Lord Castlereagh; he had no previous acquaintance with his Lordship.

“ The above notes were read over to Captain Armstrong by me, in the presence of Counsellor O’H——, and the correctness of them was assented to by him.

(Signed) { “ R. R. MADDEN.  
“ THOMAS O’H——.”

“ On the 7th of October, 1843, the preceding minutes of my communication with Captain Armstrong, are necessarily confined to the leading topics which were the subject of that communication.

“ I now proceed to give a memorandum of the conversation, the details of which are connected with the preceding notes, and which it was impossible to take down on the spot, and during the conversation.

“ I stated to Captain Armstrong that it was unnecessary for me to offer him any apology for any thing I had written on the subject which our interview had reference to ; our views respecting it were altogether different ; my only object, in communicating with him, was to get any statement of facts which he might offer, and to give publicity to it, with the view of promoting the interests of truth and justice.

“ Captain Armstrong—his principal object was to enable me to correct some errors into which I had fallen. He was in the habit of reading a great deal, and his disposition led him to notice errors wherever he detected them, and even to take the trouble of pointing them out to the authors of the works in question, though he had been wholly unacquainted with them. He spent a great deal of time in reading, and expended on books, in fact, more money than he could afford : and he repeated, it was a custom of his to notice errors and inaccuracies in books, and to point them out where they could be corrected. With respect to my work, he said, it is evident you are a partizan, and, therefore, your proceedings are of a partial kind, and tinctured with prejudice, but I have carefully read your work, (the first series,) and, I must say, the account of the events of the times you treat of is given with extraordinary correctness ; it is a most valuable work, and, perhaps, no one but a

partizan would have bestowed the same labour on it.

“ My conduct, you, and all those who think as you do, speak of in terms of the utmost severity. I do not complain of your doing so, my only desire is to set you right as to facts; but others do not feel, as you do, with respect to these proceedings; they approve of them, they appreciate my motives, they know the necessity there was for them, and the fortunate results of which they were productive to the country. Their good opinion is sufficient for me. I speak to you with the utmost frankness on this subject. I am ready to answer any question you choose to ask me; you do not know me, and may imagine I would conceal or distort facts. I am a plain straight forward man, and the people in my neighbourhood know me perfectly well, and would trust me with any thing, and confide in any statement.

“ I asked Captain Armstrong if he did not state, in his reply to the approbationary address of the officers of his regiment, in respect to his proceedings in the case of the *Sheares*, that he had not acted in this business from any interested motives, and had not thus acted for any reward. Captain Armstrong replied, that he never said he had received no reward, what he said was, that it was not with the expectation of getting a reward, that he had thus acted. I observed that his name was not in the list of those who had been receivers of the secret service money. Captain Armstrong said his name could not be found in any such list, for the reward he received was a pension, conferred on him by act of parliament, and if it had not thus been conferred on him by act of parliament, the late government would have taken it from him, which he, Captain Armstrong, thought they would not have been justified in doing.

“ I asked Captain Armstrong, if, during the period of his interviews with the *Sheares*, he had any communication with the Lord Chancellor Clare, in regard to them, he replied, that he had not. I asked if Lord Castlereagh appeared to attach any peculiar



importance to the apprehension of the Sheares, or seemed more desirous that they should be laid hold of than any other of the known or suspected leaders who were then at large. Captain Armstrong replied that he was not aware of such being the case, he only knew that Lord Castlereagh thought their detection of great importance, and had persuaded him to go to the house; that he would not have gone there if he had not been urged thus to do so. It was wrong, he believed, indeed he felt it was wrong, to have gone there, and to have dined with them. It was only that part of the business he had any reason to regret.

"I asked who was present on that occasion, Captain Armstrong replied, there were three ladies present, a slip of a girl, about fifteen, and the two men. The ladies were, the old lady, the mother, the wife of Henry, and the sister of the brothers. The young girl he did not know who she was; she might be the daughter of Henry—he did not know that she was, in fact he never remembered having seen any of his children. I asked some questions respecting their position at table, Captain Armstrong said 'the dinner table was a large one, much longer than this, (pointing to the one before him.) The old lady sat at one side, the wife of Henry sat next her, the sister and the young girl at the other side; Henry sat at one end, and John at the other; I sat next John.'

"In relation to my account of this interview, Captain Armstrong's chief anxiety seemed to be to remove the impression which he declared to be erroneous, that he had fondled or caressed the children of Henry Sheares; he said, 'indeed I never was fond of children, it was not a custom of mine, I was not in the habit of taking notice of Children.'

"Captain Armstrong stated, that when he went down to Kildare, to join his regiment, he was escorted down by four hundred men, for his protection, and two field pieces. On his arrival at Kilcullen there was no tidings there of his regiment, so he joined another regiment, then on active duty in that neighbourhood.

“With respect to Byrne, Mr. A. states, he was quite sure that Byrne was true to his party, and believed him (Capt. A.) to be favorable to its views. He (Byrne) formed this opinion from his conversation, he supposed, in regard to some measures of the government which he disapproved of, especially to the enforcement of claims for certain taxes, the year after the objects taxed had been given up by the parties; and also for assessed taxes, three years of which were required to be paid within one year, and nine years within three years. In reply to a question of Mr. O’H——n, Capt. A. said, Byrne was not prosecuted,—he was permitted to go to America. Capt. A. stated, in speaking of military executions, that in those times, the orders for them were not always given by officers in command, from whom they should emanate; but the subordinates took upon themselves often to act on such occasions.

“He requested me to read an address, presented to him by the colonel and other officers of his regiment, in 1798, in approbation of his conduct, in the case of the Sheares, and his reply to it. Having read aloud these documents, published in the ‘Dublin Journal,’ I asked Capt. A., if he wished to have them inserted with the statement, in a new edition of my work? He replied, that he had no anxiety for their publication: it was not necessary for him or his justification. His friends, who knew his conduct, the motives of it, and its results, required no further justification of it from him.

“Councillor O’H——n said, he considered these documents historically important, and they ought to be published in justice to Capt. A., as well as for enabling persons to comprehend the state of public feeling at that time. Capt. A. assented to this view, and communicated the published copies of these documents to me, which are appended to this statement.

*(Signed)*

“R. R. MADDEN.”

(From the "Nation" of Sept. 23, 1843.)

"SHEARES'S ARMSTRONG.

"Rome had her Cataline, Ireland her Armstrong."

—Dominick Ronayne.

"The man who betrayed the gifted and gallant John Sheares (after Tone and Thomas Addis Emmet, the ablest of the United Irishmen,) and his unfortunate brother Henry—who stole into their confidence, to sell it for the informer's bribe—the wretch, who was one hour smiling in the midst of their happy family, and the next in Castlereagh's office, retailing their conversation to the law officers of the crown, has not yet left the public stage. We perceive, by the *Mercantile Advertiser* of last night, that he is not ashamed to come before the public in his own name, and talk boastingly of the spoils of his infamous career. Reynolds, who died in obscure exile, was an angel to this man :—

"HEAD POLICE-OFFICE, FRIDAY.—Considerable interest was created in the Head-office this day, by the appearance of the once celebrated John Warneford Armstrong, who attended to prosecute a man named Egan, for robbery of several articles of bijouterie and wearing apparel; and also, Anthony Willis, of Lower Ormond-quay, for purchasing some of the property, knowing it to be stolen.

"It appeared, by the evidence of Mr. Armstrong, that on the night of the 20th of March, Ballycomber House, his residence in the King's County, was broken open, and property to a considerable amount, consisting of watches, rings, a *gold medal*, (presented to him by the Orangemen of the King's County, for his services in prosecuting to conviction John and Henry Sheares), were stolen therefrom. The venerable magistrate, as he is, identified several articles, among which, was the red case which formerly contained that dear relic—that valuable certificate of his *sincerity* to his friends and his loyalty to his king (query, pocket).

“ Barnes, of the detective police, proved the discovery of the watches and rings at several pawnbrokers, where they had been pledged by Anthony Willis, and also the seizure of several articles of wearing apparel, &c., on Egan. This man, it appears, was a servant to Mr. Armstrong.”

“ After a long examination, Sir Nicholas Fitzsimon agreed to take two securities, in £25 each, for the appearance of Willis at the next commission, and sent Egan for trial at the next King’s County assizes.

“ The readers of the unfortunate events of 1798, may wish to know how looks and feels one of the most remarkable actors in the tragic portion of the scenes then represented.

“ He is now in his seventy-fourth year, and appears to be a hale, strong old man. He has a mark on the right side of his face, which extends from the forehead to the side of the mouth ; it was made (he says) by a blow from a dirk, which he received from the hand of a *rebel*, as he was about to proceed to Jersey to join his regiment. He is in great trouble about the medal, which, no doubt, he intended as an heir-loom, to pass from sire to son, as an honorable proof of the *loyalty* of the house of Ballycomber.”

TO CAPTAIN JOHN W. ARMSTRONG, KING’S COUNTY  
REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

“ *Dublin, Dec. 23, 1798.*

“ SIR—I am directed by the officers of the King’s County Regiment, to convey to you the inclosed, which, be assured, gives me much satisfaction.

“ Believe me, with much regard, yours,

“ WM. W. WESTENRA,

“ Lieut.-Col. King’s County Regiment.”

“ *Malahide, Dec. 21, 1798.*

“ The officers of the King’s County Regiment, assembled at Malahide, came to a resolution, to convey

to Captain John Warneford Armstrong, of the aforesaid regiment, the following, engraved on a medal :—

“ SIR—Having heard of late, that your conduct respecting Messrs. Sheares has been, in some instances, thoughtlessly, as injuriously, reflected upon, we think we are bound, in justice to you, to the community, and to ourselves as a body, to convey to you, Sir, our sentiments on that occasion, and to assure you of our general and most decided approbation. Had we imagined that so false a construction could have been put upon the motives that influenced your conduct, we should ere now (though separated as our regiment has been during the late rebellion) have declared the sense we entertained of the important service you have rendered your country. Great, indeed, was the value of your information ; and we, who are acquainted with all the circumstances, know that your conduct was disinterested, that you came forward without the expectation of reward, and highly sensible of the danger you would incur—you despised it for the public good. We cannot conclude without observing, that you acted with the private approbation of your friends in the regiment ; that it was not a business of your own seeking—it was forced upon you by the infatuated men, whose conduct Providence seemed to direct, in making an attack upon you, so insulting to your feelings as an officer and as a man.

“ THE OFFICERS OF THE KING’S CO. REGT.”

“ TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WESTENRA, KING’S  
COUNTY REGIMENT.

“ *Malahide, Dec. 24, 1798.*

“ SIR—I have just received the Address of the King’s County Regiment, declaring their approbation of my conduct ; and if any thing could increase the pleasure I felt, it would be, the having appointed you, Sir, to deliver it to me,—a person for whom I entertain so high a respect, and of such general estimation

in the regiment. I beg you will convey to them my answer, which I inclose.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ With great truth and respect,

“ Your most obdt. and very humble servt.,

“ JOHN W. ARMSTRONG,

“ Captain King’s Co. Regiment.”

“ *Malahide, Dec. 24, 1798.*

“ TO THE OFFICERS OF THE KING’S CO. REGIMENT.

“ GENTLEMEN—So flattering and honourable a testimony of your approbation of my conduct as you have been pleased to express, and the very handsome manner in which you have had it conveyed to me, calls forth the gratitude and thanks of my heart. To preserve your good opinion, shall be my unalterable and uniform endeavour; and to persevere in such conduct, is the best return I can make. Dull, indeed, must have been my feelings, if your bright and distinguished example of affectionate loyalty to our beloved sovereign had not called forth every particle of vigour which I possessed. It is indisputably true, that I was not actuated by any hope of reward, nor by the fear of punishment, (in my conduct with regard to those unfortunate men whom I was obliged to prosecute). I acted from a purely disinterested principle, to serve my country; and I feel perfectly satisfied, in the consciousness of having done so. Some people are of opinion, that they were acquaintances of mine: the fact was otherwise.

“ I never uttered a single syllable to either of them, until I was introduced to them on Thursday, the 10th of May, and they were taken up on the 21st; others say, and, indeed, it is the only thing like argument offered on the occasion, by those who have endeavoured to calumniate me, that it was improbable that they should put their lives into the hands of a stranger. To this point the answer is obvious, the insurrection was on the eve of breaking out—the time

was pressing—they thought I might have been of critical service to them—it was worth running some risk for ; and, surely, in the course of their proceedings they must have frequently put themselves in the power of as great strangers ; the evidence of Kearney shows this pretty clearly.

“ The only question that can admit of any doubt, is, whether, under the circumstances, it was becoming a man of honour to act as I have done. I must observe, that I put myself under the direction of my colonel, and my friend ; I acted by their advice, and, if I have done anything wrong, they are more culpable than I ; but when I consider the dreadful conspiracy, which had so long existed in the kingdom, whose malignant and desperate purpose had for many years been at work, the savage barbarity which had marked its progress, and had, at length, burst forth, with all the horrors of rebellious outrage, to overthrow the government, and to subvert the monarchy, how many lives might probably be saved by a timely discovery of the principal, and deep concern which these men were supposed to have in the business ; when I consider all these points, and many more which occur to me, I have great doubt whether a man of strict honour would not be justifiable in seeking the confidence of these men, for the purpose of detection. But mine is a much clearer case ;—these men made a most hostile attack upon me—as an officer, they offered me the highest insult ; and, as an Irish subject, they sought (in order to forward their own views) to involve me in a transaction, which would, probably, have led to infamy and ruin. I am confident, that many people have endeavoured, by indirect means, to depreciate me in the general esteem ; some have succeeded, but I was well aware that such would be the endeavour of the disaffected. So certain was I of it, that nothing but the zeal I was actuated by, for my country’s welfare, could have tempted me to expose myself to the public view, and to have rendered myself so very unpopular, as I have done, by thus discharging my

duty ; a duty the more imperious, from the impossibility of any other person being able to frustrate their plans of treason.

“ I believe I have been much traduced ; but it matters me little what the disaffected, the disloyal, or those ignorant of the circumstances under which I acted, may think of my conduct ; it was not to gain their good wishes that I risked my person and my reputation. I am rewarded, when approved of by men, possessing as much honour, principle, and spirit, as any I am acquainted with. I shall always consider, as the most fortunate event of my life, that one which has enabled me to save, from massacre, a multitude of my fellow subjects, and, probably, all my brother officers.

“ I remain, with every sentiment of gratitude and regard,

“ Gentlemen, most sincerely yours,

(Signed)

“ JOHN WARNEFORD ARMSTRONG.

“ Captain, King’s County Regiment.”

“ *Kilkenny, 21st September, 1843.*

“ SIR,—I feel conscious of having too long delayed returning you my heart-felt thanks for the two volumes, which you so kindly ordered to be sent me.

“ I cannot, nor need not, express to you, what painful feelings the perusal of the second volume cost me. The faithful character you have drawn of my two beloved ones, counteracted, in some degree, the agony I experienced, in having those (to me) heart-rending scenes, brought so vividly before me.

“ You did justice to them, and *no more* ; less than you stated of their worth, could not have been the truth. The world was not worthy of them ; but, I humbly trust, they are now in the presence of that *Almighty* Being, who alone knows, and searches the heart of man.



“ Your statements were all so correct, that I had little to communicate, except a number of letters, written by my adored Henry, while in Kilmainham, and which could meet no eye but mine.

“ With feelings of respect and gratitude, believe me to remain,

“ Ever your truly obliged,

(Signed) “ SARAH SHEARES.

“ To R. R. Madden, M.D.

“ 48, Sloane’s-square, Chelsea, London.”

## APPENDIX II.

### MR. THOMAS REYNOLDS.

Reference to the above named person, at page 208, and onwards to 250, Vol. I. 1st series, and mention of his name and exploits, in “ the account of Secret Service Money, applied in Detecting Treasonable Conspiracies,” published in the Appendix of the Second Volume of my work, at page 425, have procured for me the honour of the following complimentary notice of my labours, from the son and biographer of the Tom Reynolds of 1798.

#### LETTER FROM MR. THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ *Faubourg, St. Honoré, Paris,*  
“ *July 16, 1842.*

“ SIR,—My attention has been called to a work, lately published by you ; in which, not satisfied with repeating the thrice-told and often-refuted calumnies against the character of my late father, you also make

a direct attack upon me, at page 215, of your First Volume. It is that attack which induces me to address you. I see, that like all your party, you stop at nothing; falsehood or truth appear indifferent to you. As regards your extract from the Secret Service Money, it is an evident and a very stupid forgery; but, even if it were not so, it is for you to show, first, that it is authentic; and, next, that the Thomas Reynolds, therein mentioned, was my father; but I have no doubt you could shew any thing, when you tell your readers that F. H. means John Hughes. I shall, however, soon demonstrate to the public, that there happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father, and that, probably, the whole story is a mere invention of your own, if, indeed, you have not imported it from that land of veracity, to which the newspapers' puffs tells us you wandered thrice in search of your documents. I know not what your "Travels in the East" may have produced; but, I assure you, you might have spared your journey to the West, where, I suppose, you also discovered that my father had been Consul at Lisbon for four years, at £1400 a year; whereas, if you had only wandered to the *west end* of the town, and examined any Red Book, from 1810 to 1814, you would have found that he was agent for the packets at Lisbon, with a salary of £200 a year. But a falsehood, more or less to you and your party, does not signify, if you can only attain your object, from which, thank Heaven, you are as remote as heretofore. The public will see, from this, how much reliance can be placed on your authentic documents, as you call them, at page 240.

"Believe me, sir, your malice is all in vain; the man whom you seek to assail, will meet you, ere many years are passed, at the bar of Him who judges righteously. There the secrets of his heart, and of yours, must be revealed; you cannot injure him now, he is beyond your malice; but, like a fiend, as is shown clearly in page 242, you would, if you could,

injure me ; but I must have lived very much in vain, if the dull falsehoods of yourself, or your accomplices, could injure me in the estimation of the numerous persons, to whom I am so fortunate as to be known.

“ I shall reserve other remarks till I publish them, with many matters and names which I could have wished to leave buried in oblivion.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your humble servant,

“ THOMAS REYNOLDS.

“ To Dr. Madden,

“ London.”

Mr. Reynolds, the son of Bond's Reynolds, of Byrne's Reynolds, of M'Cann's Reynolds, is angry that he has been detected falsifying facts and figures, in his efforts to pass off perfidy for patriotism, and the lust of gold for the love of a gracious sovereign ; in short it offends him that his endeavours have been foiled to immortalize his father's disinterestedness in betraying his bosom friends, swearing away their lives, making widows of their wives, and orphans of their children.

Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds would come before the public as an injured man, hurt in his filial character, when he was bending beneath the load of a father's memory. The burden he bore was greater, I admit, than the “pious Æneas” carried on his shoulders from the flames of Troy ; the undertaking was more arduous. He would have the sympathy of the public bestowed on him, for having it shewn that he had stopped at no trifles in the prosecution of his bold enterprize. The very boldness of that attempt, however, it is obvious, must have forced the duty on some person of examining it, and having the means of detecting its errors, they were disclosed by me.

Amongst the grossest of them, there was one which was refuted very fully, namely, the *mistake* respecting the amount of blood-money which had been received by his father. Young Mr. Reynolds had stated that

his father had only received £500 for his services to government in 1798; whereas it was clearly proved, by the publication of the secret service money in the first series of my work, that he had received £5000, in four payments, between the 29th of September, 1798, and the 4th of March, 1799, duly set down, in black and white, in the hand-writing of Mr. Secretary Cooke. Young Mr. Thomas Reynolds did not dream of that record seeing the light of day, when he gave to the world his bold book.

There are but two assertions in his letter which it may be pardonable in me to notice seriously.

In reference to the person whose initials, F— H—, appear in the list of receivers of Secret Service Money, prefixed to the amount “£100 for the discovery of Lord E. F.,” Mr. Reynolds says—“there happens to be a physical impossibility in its having been my father.” Now Mr. Reynolds knows perfectly well that I never said, nor gave it to be understood, I thought that his father was that traitor whose initials are given in the official document, which he deems “a mere invention of my own.” I stated, on the contrary, from many concurring circumstances, and from the fact of the first letter of those initials being so indistinctly written *in the original document from which I copied it*, that it was difficult to distinguish whether the letter was a J or an F., (though bearing most resemblance to the latter), that it was opinion Mr. John Huges might be the person referred to under those initials, and I adduced several reasons that seemed to me to support that opinion. So that Mr. Reynolds has conjured up a calumny of his own imagining, for the purpose of making its demolition tell in favour of his other efforts to refute facts which he had found it difficult to deal with.

The next assertion I have to notice is, that I had represented his father's salary, at Lisbon, to have been £1400, whereas it was £200.

In this short statement there is a falsehood and a quibble. In my work I estimated the receipts of his office "for four years, at £1400 per annum, £5600." The words that follow admit of no mistake—"the salary and *emoluments* of which office averaged £1400 per annum." 1st series, vol. 1, page 241.

Since the receipt of Mr. Reynolds' letter I have verified, on the spot, the fact stated by me with respect to the amount of his salary and emoluments, and I now re-assert it. Mr. Reynolds, however, would fain have it believed that £200 a-year, the bare amount of his father's salary, was all that he derived from his office.

That office was miscalled by me; instead of Consular Office it should have been termed Packet and Post Office Agency. That is the sole mis-statement I have to correct in my notice of the labours of either of the Reynolds.

Immediately on the receipt of the younger gentleman's epistle I had written a reply to it, which I was only prevented transmitting by considerations that were urged on me by one of the most distinguished of living Irishmen.

In that which I had written it was my object to convince my correspondent that he had done too much credit to my ingenuity; doubting, as I did, that it was within the compass of the malice of any individual to do an additional injury to his father's memory; that the insinuation, moreover, of the existence of *another Tom Reynolds*, whose name had been mistaken for his father's, in the list of recipients of secret service money, was a foul calumny on human nature—for whose honour it was to be hoped, that two men of his father's stamp were not to be found in the same century: and, lastly, that the meeting with his parent, with which he menaced me, in the other world was a thing too fearful to contemplate without a shudder, or to threaten without feelings of malevolence which it ill became a gentleman of his professed piety to entertain.

## APPENDIX III.

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JEMMY O'BRIEN.

The origin of the public services of this formidable functionary of the state, some fifty years ago, is little known. O'Brien began his bloody career, about three years before the rebellion, by the murder and robbery of a county Meath gentleman, of high respectability, Mr. Adare, who resided in the neighbourhood of Dunboyne.

There were three or four persons concerned in this crime, but the actual murder was committed by O'Brien. The stolen plate of the murdered gentleman was offered for sale, by O'Brien and one of his accomplices, to the late Alderman West, and his brother silversmiths, of Dublin. The plate was broken up, but it had been sold to Mr. Adare by the West's, and was recognized by them. One of the brothers, noticing a portion of Adare's crest, quietly walked into a back room off the shop, got into the street, by the hall door, and immediately closed the shop door. O'Brien, however, was then alone inside, his companion had slunk off. He was secured and sent to jail, where he offered to turn approver. On his information all his accomplices were taken up and, on his evidence, were condemned and executed. His success in this affair, and the peculiar coolness of his villany, recommended him to Major Sirr; he was taken up by him and employed in state tagging; he lived by blood and he died for the shedding of it.

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APPENDIX IV.CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SPIES AND INFORMERS OF  
1803 WITH THEIR EMPLOYER, MAJOR SIRR.

The following extracts, from the volume's referred

to in this work, contain the substance of some of the communications addressed to the Major by the various members of his battalion of testimony, chiefly in the year 1803. These volumes, containing the original correspondence, were purchased, at the sale of the Major's Library, by the trustees of Trinity College, and now are deposited in the College Library, but are kept with so much care as to be very inaccessible to readers who are not of the elect in College politics.

LETTER FROM MR. EDWARD NEWENHAM TO MAJOR SIRR.

*“ Black Rock, March, 1803.*

“ States that he was the Anonymous Correspondent who gave him information of arms and men in the town, and says the information was perfectly well founded ; on the Monday evening following five strangers left the town and took different roads to the county Wicklow, one was seen going into —, rather well dressed and had a military gait in walking, &c.”

LETTER FROM F. LAMB TO THE MAJOR.

“ Francis Lamb, of Maynooth, says the Duke has known him two years; Messrs. M'Gawley and Hughes, of George's-quay, knew him ; on Saturday last a man, at Maynooth, told him a rising was to take place that night, and that 10,000 men were to join from Longford ; he asked the priest of Maynooth College if he knew of it—said he did, and that the Duke knew it too.”

Examination of William Dunn, of Carlow, one of the prisoners taken up at Rathfarnham and sent up by Robert Shaw, states the suspicious circumstance of the rebel song—“ Paddy Evermore”—having been found in his bed.

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

*March 25th, 1803.*

Informing him of a meeting at Fleet-street, when

Edward Mooney, when they met, told them to come to one more private meeting. They then went to 21, Townsend-street. Pat. Merkif told them the business would be concluded by Easter, every thing would be ready; told him that it was Devereux, the gunsmith, made a great quantity of arms for them; he will find out where Condon is; when we get him, I believe, he can give you more information than any one you have got yet; it seems to me he was more in confidence than any of the rest.

“ I think by my being in the business (a publican) it will enable me to make out useful information for you; if your honour don't do something for me I must quit the business.”

A LETTER FROM SOME INFORMER WITHOUT  
SIGNATURE,

Saying, he had been introduced to several other meetings by one James Dillon—that he has not seen, as yet, any one resembling Dowdall, Allen, Stafford, Quigley, or Cummins, but hopes soon.

“ *Houses for reception of Insurgents.*—Almost every Inn in Thomas-street have rooms set apart for them, Power and Son excepted. King-street, north neighbourhood of the Clark's foundry; Hodge's, Mass-lane, near Charles street; a public-house just in the rear of John-street, and Eaden's, Hayes-court. Mallins, Thomas-street, should be particularly noticed—well as M'Dermott's, Dirty-lane.”

“ MEM.—Edward Moran and two slaters, Walsh and Kelly, murdered Colonel Brown, headed by Byrne, Publican, High-street. From Robt. Burnett, 190, Great Britain-street.”

LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR,

*Endorsed “ Wednesday, 30th March, 1803.”*

“ Informs the Major of a meeting held the night before, at which were present James Kirwan, Edward



Mooney, Grant, otherwise Vaughan, Miles M'Cabe; Captain Horish sent an apology. Heard of a sergeant of the 62nd regiment, named M'Donnell, whom he is to meet at Livingston's, in Liffey-street, 'who brought over almost the whole regiment to the business.'

"Edward Mooney said he hoped, and he gave a toast to the effect of his wishes, which went round, 'that shortly the Castle of Dublin would be in our hands.'"

*30th March, 1803.*—Letter from Carroll, informing the Major of a treasonable meeting, and gives information of the pass words.

Letter from M'Henry Hayden, Wicklow, offering his services to take Dwyer.

*July, 1803.*—Letter, informing the Major there was a number of French in Ireland.

Letter, giving information that there were treasonable meetings held at Coffey's, 2, Gregg's-lane.

A letter from W. Glascock to the Major, states that the government should watch a Mr. Metcalf, &c. as suspicious.

A letter from Captain Derenzie, informing the Major of Rev. Mr. Nolan, of Rathvilly, being attacked in the chapel by one Michael Nolan, and called an informer, &c.

A letter from W. G. S. informing the Major that Bradly, of Golden-lane, and others, are rebels.

A letter from Joel Hulbert, Monasterevan, informing the Major of meetings being held at Barnwell's, opposite the old jail; of Peter Brophy and Dixon being there.

An anonymous letter, informing the Major that the 14th of August, was the day appointed for a general rising in Dublin; the servants of loyalists had got arms to destroy their masters in bed. From Dublin the massacre was to go through the country, which would bring over the English then. On the 24th of August, the French were to land in England; many

great men, and some with red coats, were in the secret. Gives information of Costigan, the distiller, of Thomas-street, and a young man, named Keegan, "a desperate rebel," being "as big a rebel as can live." Suspecting matters at Rooney's.

Confidential letters of John and Bernard Gorman to the Major.

A letter from R. L. to the Major, stating that he has heard Mr. Sampson "damn the King," and has two sons Jacobins; describes him and his residence.

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

*"April 23, 1803.*

"That Captain Murray, when he came up from town with Richardson's cattle, left the new signs, which are as follows:—The foremost finger of the right hand, to give them to shake hands with; then the left hand upon the right breast; then asks—'show how far they have travelled.' Their reply is—'as far as truth and justice.' Dwyer was continually at Monastown, at Michael Byrne's, Castlehaven, and John Byrne's Monastown.

"Sir, you know my hand-writing, so I need not write my name, for fear this letter be miscarried."

LETTER FROM HENRY HAYDEN TO MAJOR SIRR.

*"Dublin, 28th of May, 1803."*

Offering to take Dwyer, on condition that he would be well rewarded; that he would be appointed to some situation in the country, near his residence, that he might get acquainted among those who harboured Dwyer; or to get an Ensign's pay, and a permanent situation.

LETTER FROM THOMAS ELRINGTON (PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE) TO MAJOR SIRR.

*"June 7, 1803.*

"DEAR SIR,—Miss Bell having mentioned to me

that you wished for a description of Robert Emmet, I send the best I can get of what he was five years ago. I know no person who can give you an account of the alteration that may have taken place in his figure since.

“ Believe me, dear sir,

“ Yours, very truly,

“ THOMAS ELRINGTON.”

“ In 1798, was near twenty years of age, of an ugly sour countenance, small eyes, but not near-sighted; a dirty brownish complexion—at a distance, looks as if somewhat marked with the small pox—about five feet six inches high, rather thin than fat, but not of an emaciated figure, on the contrary, somewhat broad made; walks briskly, but does not swing his arms.”

#### A LETTER FROM CARROLL TO MAJOR SIRR.

Recommending him to arrest Horish, the sweep, and the man who murdered Lord Kilwarden.

#### *Quotations from the above-mentioned Letter :—*

“ I will insist on you to take one of the men who murdered Lord Kilwarden; he is recovered in Temple-bar. If you are not pleased to do this business, I shall answer it with another magistrate. To let your honour see I am not humbugging, I will insist to be brought before Secretary Marsden, to let him understand what I have done for government I will surely call on you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, as I have received no money this fortnight. I think I did not deserve such treatment, which time will tell.

“ I shall ever remain government's most humble servant,

“ CARROLL.”

Winifred Cavanagh, servant to Mrs. Palmer, Harold's Cross-road, near the Canal-bridge, examined

28th August, 1803, as to whether a Mr. Hewit, or a Mr. Connynham, ever was there.\*

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR, IN RELATION TO  
A LETTER FROM ONE NOWLAN.

“ David Power, who was implicated in the rebellion of 1798, and expelled college, turned approver, and was to have prosecuted at Cork.† He was on the table against Conway, a watch-maker, before Judge Day; did not prosecute, and was imprisoned two years. Is just arrived in Dublin, and is at the mail-coach hotel. Says he is a captain in a militia regiment, now on the coast of Devon; is now on business with Timothy O’Brien, in Ship-street. Is about going to Tipperary or Cork.”

This memorandum is endorsed—“ Nowlan, 12, Little Ship-street, gun-smith, first floor, streetward; workshop backwards.”

“ A gentleman at wine, sitting pensive. A white chest on the stair head.”

LETTER FROM EDWARD WINGFIELD TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ *Cork Abbey, August 4, 1803.*

*Subject.*—“ That Benjamin P. Binns, who was a plumber, in employment here some time before, should

\* Winifred Kavanagh was servant in the house in which Robert Emmet was arrested. He went there under the name of Hewit, and sometimes of Connynham —R. R. M.

† Mr. Power was arrested in Cork, and imprisoned, for some time, in Spike Island, in 1798. The most extraordinary pains were taken to terrify him, with the view of inducing him to inform against the suspected members of the Cork Directory. Power was a talkative indiscreet person; but unconnected with the rebellion. A Mr. Westropp worked upon him to give evidence on some of the trials; but when the time came, he refused to appear against the prisoners, and suffered, for his integrity, two years imprisonment. He published a letter, after his expulsion from college, in 1798, in the newspapers, professing feelings of excessive ardour, of a patriotic turn, and full of declared resolutions to die for his country. There was too much talk of dying for it, in this fiery and flowery epistle.—R. R. M.

be looked after ; mentions, that his glasses and decanters were all engraved with 'Erin-go-bragh' and the 'harp reversed without the crown ;' also to look to Holmes, the glassman, Denis Kelly, and Patrickson."

LETTER FROM J. F. H. !!! TO MAJOR SIRR.

*" Monastown, August 4, 1803.*

Stating—" That there are meetings at Barnwell's, opposite the old jail, every Monday. The chairman is Peter Brophy : lives next door to Dixon, at Kilmainham. He takes the chair, dressed in a white jacket, with green facings and silver epaulets, and a long white wand in his hand. Pikes may be found either in Barnwell's house or yard, or at Peter Brophy's : ' this Brophy is a most bigotted Papist.'

" Inquiring, if it is true, that Mr. James William Osborne, formerly a member of the Attorneys' Corps, and now of Mr. Cassidy's, had been struck out of the Attorneys' Corps for disaffection ; wishes to know if such was the case."

FROM R. L. TO MAJOR SIRR.

*" Dublin, Aug. 8, 1803.*

*Subject.*—" Having an opportunity of knowing Mr. Sampson some time, I soon found out that he has made and disposed of more pike-handles than any man in Ireland. I have known him to damn the king ; to acknowledge himself a Jacobin. He is an Englishman, and has two sons, Jacobins. He is about five feet six inches ; single, pale complexion, brown hair ; lives where the barrack was, west side of Stephen's Green, and has another place at the corner of River's-street, Cathedral-lane.

" R. L."

LETTER FROM \* \* \* TO MAJOR SIRR.

*" Merrion-row, Aug. 9, 1803.*

" DEAR SIR—I published the paper with the best

intentions, and with the approbation of your friends at the Castle. If you wish for one hundred of them to disperse through the country, send to my house at ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

“ I am, dear Sir, your friend,”  
(*name illegible.*)

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN GIFFARD TO THE MAJOR.

“ *August, 11, 1803.*

“ DEAR MAJOR—The bearer is of the name of Conner, and was in the Chancellor’s book, as you were informed; but whether he is the identical murderer, I cannot pretend to say. I believe Counsellor T—— can identify him; if not, he must be held till we send for our man to Wexford.

“ Yours ever truly,  
“ JOHN GIFFARD.”

LETTER FROM MR. DAN MAGUIRE TO THE MAJOR.

“ *Black-pitts, August, 11, 1803:*

“ SIR—I would have taken this liberty some time back, only expecting Mr. Tully’s friendly interference with you. But, as the matter has been so long delayed, I now request your attention to my poor son, William Maguire, now in the Prevot. On the 23rd of last month, the poor boy, with Charles Daly (my apprentice, to the rope-making business), was sent to get a witness to a trial expected to come on, wherein Mr. Tully is concerned, and in presence of Pat Kelly, the attorney, and one of the Attorneys’ Corps; also to go to White’s-lane, on the way, for that purpose; when that business was finished, to go to Bloomfield, and see that the carman, Frank Murphy, brought some furniture from thence to Black-pitts. On their coming to Black-pitts, there were no beds there for them, and they went to my former house in Francis-street, of which —— is a partner; and on the Coombe, they were met by Justice Drury, who will state the

same fully. The boy is not sixteen years of age, of mild inoffensive manners; and, although he has been in Germany and Russia in my vessels, never offended mortal. No better child ever was. Rest assured, these are all facts, and that no party business ever entered his head, nor ever an oath escaped his lips.

“Sincerely request your inquiry, whether these are the facts; if so, you will see the danger to the morals of so young and good a boy, to be in such a place. Your humanity will, I am sure, excuse this trouble, from

“Your humble servant,  
“DAN MAGUIRE.”

#### MEMORANDUM OF MAJOR SIRR.

“*Dublin Castle, August 14, 1803.*”

“Anthony Moore and Walter Tyrrell, owners of the house in Stephen’s-lane, where the Curren’s were taken.

“Thomas, Edward, and Michael Curren; brothers, from Jamestown, county Westmeath. James and Daniel Curren, from Gaybrook, Westmeath.

“Taken by Captain Abbot, on Saturday, 13th of August.

“H. C. SIRR.

“Examination of Anthony Moore, coal-factor.”

“*Sunday, August 14, 1803*—The following information was this day confidentially communicated by a gentleman of loyalty and honour, who resides beyond Blackrock. On Monday last, about 3 o’clock in the evening, Russell was seen entering a house which is next Judge Foxe’s—in a lane which is a cul-de-sac,—some time after unknown persons were seen entering the same house, and afterwards, as the person who saw this transaction asserts, Doctor Drennan followed them into this house. The same person asserts that Surgeon Wright, with three other persons, travels to the Rock in a jingle, every day at the same hour.

“ This paper is endorsed Moore and Teeling, Drew, Jonathan Gray, Usher’s Quay.”

LETTER FROM JOHN LIDWELL TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ 3, *Fishamble-st. Dublin, Aug. 17, 1803.*

*Subject*—“ Communicating information he got from a woman a Protestant, who got it from one of the rebels, to whom she passed herself off as one of them. That their were pikes sufficient for all Ireland in Newtown Mount Kennedy—with arms, ammunition, &c. ; and that had Tallaght been searched at night, they would have found near 2,000 muskets, &c. ; but now they act cautiously, keeping them buried abroad in the earth, being well covered with woollen clothes, to hinder them getting rusty in the earth.

“ Says, if the late Secretary Cooke was in town, he would remember him for his loyalty, and usefulness to goverment, in 1798, as he wrote him several letters he was thankful for ; and Captain Beresford, Lords Castlereagh, and Roden, all of them knew him.”

[The writing and orthography of this letter is so bad, it can scarce be read.]

LETTER FROM MURTOCH LACY TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ *August 19, 1803.*

“ SIR—I take the opportunity of telling you that I am now on my keeping for what I cold not help ; but, if you be pon honner with me, I will tell you nuf. Murthey Lacey is my name, and I was to join that corpe in John Heifferan’s house. Big — himself he was the man that swore me. My name is Murthey Lacey ; we both live in the town of Kildare —sol if you parding me, I will tell yoo anuf ; sol yo may send me word to Mr. Kites, the Postmaster, he vill tell my wife, if you forgive me—yo may have Heifferan taken at about Thursday next. I CAN BRING IN THIRTY-SEVEN.”



## ANONYMOUS LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ August 19, 1803.

*Subject*—“ Offering to give information against a most suspicious person, whom he knows, if he be recompensed ; says he gave information to Lord Westmeath, in 1795, and appeared before the Select Committee of Lords, but got nothing for it.

*Quotations*—“ I saw yesterday a most suspicious character, a resident of Thomas-street, or Dirty-lane, and that neighbourhood, but which, since the late business, he has forsaken ; sculking in a most suspicious part of the town, dreadfully wounded in the hand, apparently with musket shot ; he is an intimate of Mr. Murphy’s, and, I think, you had him the last rebellion ; he is also an intimate of Patrick M’Cormick, the noted tinker of High-street ; and it occurred to me, that, were he apprehended and interrogated, something might come out, to throw light on the horrid night of the twenty-third, for which purpose I watched him and know his haunts : now, sir, I am a very poor man, and if you think him worthy of notice, and will mention, by advertizement in Saunders, to the purport, as at foot, I will inform you all the particulars I know about him.”

“ MONEY—Anonymous shall receive — guineas for the communication he proposes.”

“ Please fill the blank with the utmost that will be given ; and, if liked, you shall receive particulars.”

## LETTER FROM WILLIAM H. HUME TO MAJOR SIRR.

“ August 20, 1803.

“ That he has heard of the apprehension, in Dublin, of Doyle, who was a rebel Captain, and had served between Blessington and Tallaght.

*Quotations*—“ I am informed, by good authority, that he has been very active, and can give much information, if you can work it out of him.”

A MEMORANDUM, ON A HALF SHEET OF A LETTER, IN  
MAJOR SIRR'S HANDWRITING.

*" Dublin Castle, August 22, 1803.*

" Stating that he, Major Sirr, had received useful information, from time to time, from a man named *J. Hamilton*, who had formerly given useful information to Lord Carhampton, of the state of the conspirators of the Hill of Howth, where he resided. Has latterly acquainted him, the Major, with their designs respecting the meditated attack on the Pigeon House by water; and, as the informant was a MIDSHIPMAN in the Navy, it was thought HIS ENTERPRISING DISPOSITION would be useful in the undertaking—William Corr, and one John Sweeny."

MEMORANDUM OF THE MAJOR'S.

" Benjamin Adams came before me this day, and made oath on the Holy Evangelist, that, on the night of the 23rd of July, 1803, Owen Kirwan assembled with a large body of pike-men and rebels of different descriptions, and on that same night he commanded the party of rebels that went through Plunket-street, and he called to the inhabitants of that neighbourhood to take up arms or pikes against the government, and that whoever would not take up the arms, should be put to death the following day."

ANONYMOUS LETTER TO THE MAJOR.

" Informing him of meeting at Coffey's, in Gregg's-lane, that a man came from Wexford to Dublin in one day, and here are many particular business which is to be settled at next meeting."

*" August 25th, 1803.*

" Received from Henry Charles Sirr, Esq., Five Guineas, on account.

£5 13s. 9d.

" WILLIAM HALL.

" From Mr. John Hanlon."

## A LETTER FROM CHAS. M'GOWAN TO MAJOR SIRR,

“ *August 17, 1803.*”

“ Stating that he was an informer in 1798, and is now in dread of his life, and asking for a recommendation to Chelsea Hospital.

“ A letter to the Major recommends steps to be taken against Fleming, grocer, and Rourke, publican, Eades, grocer, and Carroll, seedsman, all of Cook-street.”

## LETTER FROM R. SMYTHE TO MAJOR SIRR,

“ *Drogheda, May 31, 1804.*”

“ States, he has seen John Carroll, that he will remain there until he has settled the business, and that he will do the needful.”

LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR, SIGNED JOHN DILLON, BUT  
IN THE HAND-WRITING OF CARROLL.

“ *Pormanstown, Ballybriggan,  
May 31, 1804.*”

“ States having seen Capt. Smyth, had been at two meetings in the country, one on last Sunday the next on Monday, at the Bull, at the bridge foot of Gormanstown, there were nine men delegated from the country round, one of the name of Brennan, ‘ an eminent farmer ;’ that he, Dillon, passed himself off as a delegate from Dublin.”

## LETTER TO MAJOR SIRR FROM CORCORAN,

“ Stating, that when the army left Newry, in 1798, to take the people at the meeting at Dundalk, Corcoran received information, from an officer’s servant, where they were going, upon which Corcoran got a horse and made off to Dundalk, where Turner had gone to a meeting ; he arrived in time to disperse the meeting.

“ Bazeley, Teeling, Samuel Turner, John Byrne,

and Alexander Lowry, went with him to one Kelly's, a farmer, at about two miles, where they hid themselves that night in a barn; in the morning they sent Corcoran to Dundalk to see if there was any danger; finding none they went—Turner, Lowry, and Teeling, went to Newry; Turner and Teeling hid themselves; Turner went to Dublin, to Eastwood's, the attorney, who sent him off; John Byrne gave Corcoran Tests to give to Heffernan, — Keogh, Michael Fagan, and James Doolan, and four to keep for others who might want them; there was a pass-word between Corcoran, John Byrne, and Teeling, for putting informers out of the way of their friends."

FROM JOHN WOLFE TO MAJOR SIRR.

" April 3, 1804.

" Hoping the Major will try to get the reward, which was offered for the taking of Wylde and Mahon, for the woman who gave information, on which they would have succeeded but for the mismanagement of Drury.

" From Carroll, asking for five guineas, and says he hopes soon to complete the business, thinks the tools are making by three principal men of this city.

" A plan to take James Hughes and his party (generally of 30 men) by sending parties from Blessington to Ballydaniel, from Tallow to Ballanascorning, and from Rathfarnham, and from Powerscourt.

" MEMORANDUM.—Wylde and Mahon, and with them often M'Mahon, have been, occasionally, concealed at Mahon's brothers, at Greenhills, at Frayne's, near Rathcoffy, at Quigley's, and at an Ale-house, probably Costello's, at the Cork bridge, and at the jailers at Phillipstown, who is married to Wylde's sister, his name is Morrow.

FROM REV. MR. PRATT.

" Newry, July 17, 1804.

" Giving information that M'Cabe, the rebel, was in

the town, and had the impudence to appear upon the military parade; that he had been at Portadown, county Armagh, and in Downpatrick.

“MEMORANDUM.—O’Ferrall, an officer in Kealing’s regiment; Dunn, county Wicklow; Hasting’s, Kildare; Dempsey and Son, Cogan, Wexford; Kelly, the two Anderson’s, Dublin; and Foley, Flood, and Joyce, Conolly’s men, ‘are noted United Irishmen, but have no prosecutor.’”

LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER GREENWOD TO MAJOR SIRR.

“*Belfast, December 10, 1806.*”

“Giving information against a society, which he has got introduced to, called ‘United Fratres’ by the higher classes, and by the people ‘Ezekielites,’ seemingly formed for religious purposes, but in reality to overturn Church and State, and begging that he would arrest the members,—William Lockyer, S. D. Dwyer, John Coven, J. Stoney, &c., and himself also, to avoid suspicion, and asking, as a reward, to be appointed to some regiment.”

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## APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BOOK OF THE KILDARE  
MAGISTRATES PROCEEDINGS.

“MINUTES OF EXAMINATIONS AND INFORMATION,  
IN 1803.

“Thomas Horish, in July, 1803, was living at Connor’s, near Naas, at the Green Hills; then followed his business in that neighbourhood.

“Several of the publicans in Naas were in Dublin, the 23rd of July.”

BEFORE SOLICITOR-GENERAL AND COL. WOLFE, 1ST  
OCT. 1803.

“ William Vallance, slater, of Naas, gave information against many Naas people, as having met them on the road going to Dublin, between four and six o'clock, 23rd July. John Patterson, butcher, had many people with him,—John Doyle, of Tipper, a miller ; John Dunn, of Naas, a baker ; Patrick Daniel, carpenter, Naas ; John Beirne, of Hill, carpenter ; Daniel Brophy, brewer, Naas.

“ John Reynolds, apprentice to Surgeon Bolton, in Dublin, 23rd July—Said, his father was a loyal man ; died in Naas in 1802 ; saw Lord Kilwarden's carriage stopped, from his uncle's window in Thomas-street.

“ Peter Hamilton, told by John Duff and Martin, all of Naas, there was a French officer in Naas, organizing the people, and that Dwyer was to go to Dublin with a great force.

“ Richard Flood, baker, of Kilcullen-bridge, said to be the principal leader, gave out the orders.

“ Two of the Naas men killed, the night of the 23rd, in Dublin.

“ Cause of the failure attributed to their turning out two hours before the time appointed.

“ Peter Hamilton examined—Stated, about a month before the rising, saw 150 or 200 men going down the banks of the canal, to exercise by night, close to Ladytown. The intention was to take Naas ; to attack it at nine o'clock in the evening, when the time came.

“ That Kiernan Lackey was in correspondence with the Naas people ; lives in Dublin, corner of Temple-lane, at Dolmar's ; that he had killed a Scotch corporal ; that he was a great coiner.

“ LIST OF MEN AT NAAS.

“ Daniel Brophy went out from Naas, to raise the country, 23rd July.

“ William Andrews, publican, rode out from Naas, 21st of July, for the rising on the 23rd, and his house a place of meeting for rebels.

“ Benjamin Bushell, nailer, rode out from Naas 21st July, for the rising 23rd.

“ Richard Scott, skinner, went out from Naas on the 21st July, to raise the country on the 23rd.

“ Pat Dunn, publican, Naas ; meetings at his house frequently of rebels.

“ Matthew Dodd, publican ; meetings at his house frequently—meetings of rebels.

“ John Patterson, butcher ; left Dublin in the evening, 23rd July, to stop Kildare rebels.

“ James Toole, shoemaker, went to Dublin 23rd July, with Doyle the miller.

“ Hamilton says, the sergeant (Duff) gave the orders ; went to the houses of meeting ; dropped the written orders, but said nothing ; no name to them.

“ Matthew Dodd examined—Said, that Mr. Madden, a grocer, in Bridge-street, on the 23rd of July, at four o'clock ; told him that a disturbance would break out that evening in Dublin.

“ Dowling, Blackhall-row market, *a white-smith* ; much visited by the Naas men, on the 23rd of July.

“ A great many carpenters, of the Naas men, who went to Dublin on the 23rd,—Michael M'Daniel one.

“ Richard Eustace examined—Says, ‘ Pat Rooke had twelve *perch*, (query pikes) ; cushion 100 perch,’ in Thomas-street, Farrell’s eating house.

“ William M'Dermot, publican, Naas, a distressed man, and likely to give information that would be useful ; in Dublin on the 23rd.

“ Richard Lynch ; in Dublin the 23rd.

“ James Corcoran ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ Simon Cullen, shoemaker ; in Dublin, 23rd July ; a leader of the rebels last rebellion.

“ Pat White, carpenter ; in Dublin, 23rd July ; strong symptoms of guilt on being examined, and likely to give information.

“ Daniel Dolan, publican ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ John Doyle, miller ; a leader, in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ John Dunn, baker, of Naas ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ John Keating, labourer ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ Two M'Mahons ; one of them killed, it is sup-

posed, on the 23rd of July ; the other lately returned, and was in Dublin 23rd of July.

“ Michael M'Daniel, publican, Johnstone ; in Dublin on the 23rd of July.

“ Tierney, of Sallins ; not returned, and supposed to be killed.

“ Shawn King ; not returned, and supposed to be killed.

“ James Byrne, baker, Naas ; in Dublin, and taken with a pike ; convicted and executed on Lazor's-hill.

“ David Cassidy, in Dublin, as well as Michael.

“ James Tracey, coal-factor, Naas ; went to Dublin, 23rd July, with Doyle, the miller, and Toole, the shoemaker.

“ Michael Kelly ; present when Lord Kilwarden was killed.

“ George Kelly, of Mandlins, mason ; distributed money to the rebels, at Johnstown, the 23rd July.

“ John Byrne, of Kill, publican ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ Jordan, of Kill, tailor ; in Dublin, 23rd of July.

“ Miles Hanlon, of Kill, publican ; in Dublin, 23rd of July.

“ Gillespie, of Kill, blacksmith ; in Dublin, 23rd July.

“ Michael Dalton, of Johnstown, clerk to Kennedy, the miller ; one of the leaders in the last rebellion.

“ Daniel Byrne, of Tipper ; meetings held at his house ; in prison for treason last rebellion.

“ Michael Kilroy, of Naas ; in Dublin, 23rd July, and fled in the battle.

“ An apprentice to Plunket, butcher, in Naas ; went to Dublin on the 23rd July, but not returned ; supposed to be killed.

“ One hundred and fifty people left Naas for Dublin on 23rd July.

“ John Walker, of Johnstown, herd to Brophy, the  
Dublin.

“ Martin Byrne, of Blackchurch ; his house a place of meeting for rebels.

“ Peter Burchell, of Killeel, a farmer, and Esq.,



returning from town, on 23rd July, was met by a party at the canal bridge, and brought back to town. A timid man, and likely to give useful informations.

“ Costegan had two rebel officers to dine with him the 23rd.

“ Madden lives corner of the new street from Cornmarket, at that corner next New-row counselled the Naas rebels that night in Dublin.

“ Halpin the distiller, or brewer, an active rebel; Grange, a distiller in Dublin, has a store in Naas. One of them is ——, their clerks came down to Naas to raise, 20th of July, ——, and gave the orders for the country, and the four first in the list executed their orders.

“ John Mahon, formerly servant to Wm. B. Ponsoby, a leader in Thomas-street, 23rd July.

“ Widow Ryan’s, 99, Thomas-street, the place where the Naas men met, (within three doors of John’s-lane.

“ John Peppard, of Athy, shop-keeper, got three casks of gunpowder from Cork gunpowder office.

Mr. M. of Smithfield, set out on Friday, 22nd July, and rode through Kildare raising the country.\*

“ Nicholas Gray, Secretary to B. B. Harney, 23rd July.

“ Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine; if in Dublin is at Seapoint.

“ Conran, of Castle Corner, superintendent of Lady Ormond’s works; in Dublin the 23rd July, and a leader of rebels.

“ Michael Quigley, of Rathcoffy, a leader, had been out of the kingdom, and came back prior to the outbreak in 1803.

“ Richard Eustace, Naas, carpenter; in Dublin 23rd, when examined there for expectations held out to him.

“ The White Bull Inn, a rendezvous of the Naas men, the 23rd of July.

“ Rourke kept the ‘ Yellow Bottle Inn,’ in Thomas-

\* A most egregious falsehood.—R. R. M.

street, brother of Felix Rourke, his house likewise a rendezvous that night.

"Mrs. Ryan, of Thomas-street, examined by W. B. Swan; that the firing began the 23rd of July, a little after 9 o'clock.

"John Burke, a Kildare man, killed in Dublin the 33rd of July.

"The Solicitor-General ordered the prisoners to be closely and separately confined, and their wives not to be allowed to see them in Naas jail, in October, 1803.

"Thomas Frayne lived close to Celbridge.

"Edward Scully, a tailor, Naas, examined by Solicitor-General and Colonel Wolfe; expectations held out to him by the Solicitor-General; confessed nothing, but appears to have been in the depôt in Thomas-street.

"The four first on the list, alluded to elsewhere in this minute book, are Daniel Brophy, chandler, William Andrews, publican, Benjamin Bushell, nailer, Richard Scott, Skinner, all Nass men, described as leaving Naas either on the 23rd, or a day or two previous to it, to raise the country. All the above, during the months of August, September, and October, 1803."

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## APPENDIX VI.

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ORANGE ATROCITIES COMMITTED ON THE PEOPLE,  
PREVIOUS TO THE REBELLION, DURING THE  
YEARS 1796-7.

THE atrocities committed by the Orangemen on the people, not only in the north, but generally throughout the country; previously to the rebellion, especially during the latter part of 1796, and down to the autumn of 1797, when there was a temporary ces-

sation of those enormities, have never been fully revealed. In fact little more is known of them than is to be gathered from general descriptions of housewreckings, and cabin burnings—of wholesale extermination—of such events as six hundred families at one fell swoop, having been swept off from a single country. But the particulars no historian of the time, —no journalist,—no writer living in the country dare to publish—and, accordingly, in Ireland we find no such record of them. Such a record, however, in the latter part of 1797, was published in London, by an Irish gentleman, a justice of the peace, in one of the northern counties, under the signature of “An Observer.” This pamphlet, now rarely to be met with, is called, “A View of the present State of Ireland, &c., &c. ; addressed to the People of England.” It is written with great ability, and bears throughout its pages the internal marks of authentic statements, wholly divested of exaggeration. The opinion entertained of its accuracy, by James Hope, of Belfast, one well qualified to pronounce an opinion on that point, and whose opinion is entitled to respect,—was conveyed to me in these words:—“This pamphlet contains more truth than all the volumes I have seen written on the events of 1797 and 1798.”

“Shortly after peace was concluded with America, ministers perceived they had been playing a losing game in Ireland; the Volunteer Associations had materially altered the face of the country: in many places the Catholics had embodied themselves into Volunteer corps; a friendly intercourse with their Protestant brethren naturally followed; they felt that as Irishmen, their interests were co-equal, hatred on account of religion was banished, harmony prevailed; and, if not an union of affection, at least an union of political sentiment appeared to exist amongst the people: of this administration, was well informed, and ministers trembled for what might be the result. To avert *reformation*, they felt it *their duty* to create *division*. Various were the means employed to effect this im-

moral object ; among others, they reverted to the old diabolical one of fomenting those religious feuds, which had so often consumed the vitals, and palsied the native energy of the land.....

“ They taught the weak and credulous Protestant, and Presbyterian, to believe, that, if the Catholics, who had obtained arms during the war, were suffered to retain them, that they would seize on the first opportunity to overturn the government, and erect Popery on the ruins of the Protestant religion. This, and other acts equally insidious, had the desired effect on the minds of many persons ; particularly in the County of Armagh, where the metropolitan resided.

“ Here fanaticism reared her standard, and a number of deluded people entered into a combination for the purpose of depriving the Catholics of their arms by force.....

“ For some time the Catholics remained patient and tranquil under their sufferings ; at length they declared that all their efforts to obtain legal redress had been unavailing ; and that the necessity of the case would oblige them to enter into counter combinations to defend their lives and properties against a banditti of plundering ruffians, who appeared to be countenanced by the authority, inasmuch as they were not punished by the criminal law of the land. These two parties had several encounters, in which victory was various ; but many of the Catholic party wearied out by continued persecution, fled from Armagh to different parts of the kingdom, particularly to the Counties of Louth and Meath.....

“ Led by passion, and goaded by persecution, they proceeded (like the Peep-'o-day Boys, who first set the example, and who never were punished,) to acts of felony, by taking arms by force : but they soon fell victims to their folly and imprudence. This, then, whatever interested and designing men assert to the contrary, *this was the true origin* and progress of Defenderism in Ireland.....

“ The tumultuous spirit, which manifested itself in

several counties, could have been crushed, on its first appearance, with much ease; but administration looked on with an apathy, which many enlightened men declared to be criminal.

“Had administration, then, proclaimed an amnesty to all who might be willing to take the oath of allegiance, many lives would have been preserved, and those shocking massacres which have outraged humanity, and tarnished the character of the government, would not have taken place.....

“In the county of Meath, a number of Defenders had assembled, and a part of the army was sent in pursuit of them. On the first appearance of the soldiers they dispersed; but a few, who were closely pursued, took refuge in a gentleman's house, where, after securing the doors, they defended themselves for some time; at length a capitulation was proposed; and it was agreed to, by *all parties*, that the Defenders should deliver themselves up, to be conveyed to the county gaol, for trial at the ensuing assizes. The doors were opened, the military entered; but, instead of observing the terms of agreement, they put every Defender to death. The body of each man, ‘*killed off*,’ was cast from a window into the street, and for this brutal ferocity the soldiers were not even reprimanded. In the county of Louth, there was a party of these unhappy men attacked by a squadron of dragoons, who could have easily made the whole of them prisoners, but no mercy whatever was extended to them: those who escaped the sword, were driven into a river, and drowned. And at the head of this military corps was a magistrate of the county, a gentleman who holds an eminent seat in the Irish parliament.

“A party of the army was ordered out to attack a body of Defenders, assembled near the village of Ballanaugh, in the county of Cavan. On the approach of the military they dispersed; many of them sought shelter in the village, hiding themselves under beds, &c. which evince that their resistance (if they

made any) must have been feeble, and that it would be an easy matter to make them prisoners; but that would not satiate the vengeance of those monsters, who are stained with the blood of the Irish peasantry. The magistrates and officers, commanding the party, ordered the soldiers to surround the village, and set it on fire, which order was readily obeyed. Every house (with the exception of one) was burned; and many innocent people perished in the flames with the guilty. No investigation, no legal process, took place; nor has the gentleman been indemnified, to whom the village belonged, for the loss of his property. In the counties of Westmeath, Longford, and Monaghan, similar excesses were committed. To mention the barbarities, and scenes of horror, which took place in the province of Connaught, is unnecessary. The last parliament, by an act, which disgraced it, and betrayed the rights of its constituents, gave them more strongly to the world than any detailed account can possibly do. So flagitious, illegal, and unconstitutional was the conduct of the magistracy, that the administration (*yes, even the administration of Ireland!*) was afraid to let the atrocities, which had been committed, meet the public eye; and ministers procured a bill of indemnity to be passed in parliament, to screen from punishment those officers of the *peace* who, at the hour of midnight, tore men from the arms of their families, merely on the suspicion of their being *seditions*, and dragged them on board loathsome prison-ships, transporting them to destructive climates, without *examination*, without trial, *unheard, unpleaded!* And for these *services* and *gal-lant exploits*, the man who figured foremost in the scene has been promoted to situations of the first importance in the nation.\*.....

"In January, 1796, a party of *Orangemen*, the Peep-of-day Boys, having adopted this new designation, headed by William Trimble, came to the house

\* Lord Carhampton

of Mr. Daniel Corrigan, a very reputable citizen, in the county of Armagh, parish of Kilmore, and, having before robbed him of his arms, which, being registered, he was by law entitled to retain, they demanded a pistol he had *subsequently* purchased, to protect him as he travelled round the country, (he being a dealer in cattle,) which, having obtained, they retired, promising his family protection; but returned in about twenty minutes, and, forcing the door, Trimble murdered Mr. Corrigan, by lodging seven balls in his body, from a blunderbuss, and then destroyed the house and furniture. Trimble was afterwards apprehended, tried, found guilty, and ordered by the judge for execution in forty-eight hours; but through a *certain* interference he was respited. He continued in jail till the ensuing assizes, when he was again arraigned for having murdered Mr. Arthur M'Cann, as also for several robberies; but his trial was put off, and in a few days he was ordered for *transportation*, when he was only sent to Cork, from whence he was *suffered* to go on board the fleet, like a *good and loyal subject*.

“The house of Mr. Bernard Crosson, of the parish of Mullanabrack, was attacked by Orangemen, in consequence of being a *reputed* Catholic. His son prevented them from entering by the front door, upon which they broke in at the back part of the house, and, firing on the inhabitants, killed Mr. Crosson, his son, and daughter. Mr. Hugh M'Fay, of the parish of Seagoe, had his house likewise attacked on the same pretence—himself wounded, his furniture destroyed, and his wife barbarously used.

“Information having been lodged against a few individuals living in the village of Kilrea, in the county of Derry, for being United Irishmen, a party of the military were ordered to apprehend them; the men avoided the caption, and about three o'clock in the morning, a *reverend* magistrate, accompanied by a clergyman of the same description, and the commanding officer of the party, ordered the soldiers to set

fire to the houses of the accused; the men obeyed, and all was consumed. There were four houses which could not be burned, without endangering the whole village, they therefore gutted them; and, having carried out the moveables, burned them in the street.

“ One circumstance, peculiarly savage, took place on this occasion :—The wife of one of the accused had been delivered of a child only the day preceding; she was carried out of her house, and, with the infant, thrown into the snow, while her blankets and wearing apparel were consigned to the flames. None of these savage violators of law and humanity, were brought to justice; on the contrary, the reverend magistrate has since been promoted to a more enlarged benefice. It is a well known fact, that, in the county of Armagh alone, *seven hundred Catholic families* were driven to poverty and desolation—their houses burned, and property destroyed by Orangemen. It may be said, that administration was not the secret mover in these horrid scenes; but the following *facts* will, I think, enable the reader to form a tolerable opinion on the subject;—Three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of the county of Down and Armagh, that they met in committees; amongst whom were some *members of parliament*, known to be the tools of state, who gave these people money, and promised *they should not suffer* for any act they might commit; and pledged themselves that they should hereafter be provided for, under the auspices of government. Furthermore, the said magistrate addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, inquiring of him how he should act in these critical times; that hitherto he had preserved peace on his large estate, but wished to know how he should act in future; and that, if it was necessary for the preservation of the *present system* for him to connive at, or encourage, the Orangemen in their depredations, he said, as a man, he knew his duty; if it was not necessary, he hoped the magistrates of the county at large would be made responsi-



ble, and be compelled to act against these *depredators*. This letter was written in consequence of a large meeting which was advertized to be held by the Orangemen in about ten days after. Though he could have had an answer in four days, he did not receive one for two months; and when it did make its appearance, it was couched in such evasive and equivocal language, that it was impossible to comprehend its meaning. It is also worthy of remark, that these unprincipled hirelings were never once mentioned in the answer.....

“In the month of May last a party of the Essex **Fencibles**, accompanied by the Enniskillen Yeomen Infantry, commanded by their first Lieutenant, marched to the house of a Mr. Potter, a very respectable farmer, who lived within five miles of Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh. On their arrival they demanded Mr. Potter, saying they were ordered to arrest him, as he was charged with being an United Irishman. His wife, with much firmness, replied, ‘that to be an United Irishman was an honour, not a disgrace; that her husband had gone from home, the preceding day, on business, and had not yet returned.’ They assured her that if he did not surrender himself in *three hours* they would burn his house. Mrs. Potter answered, ‘that she did not know exactly where he then was, but, if she did know, she believed it would be impossible to have him home in so *short a time*.’ In less than three hours they set fire to the house, which was a very neat one, only about five years built; the servants brought out some beds and other valuable articles, in the hope of preserving them, but the military dashed all back into the flames. The house and property, to the amount of six or seven hundred pounds, were consumed, and Mrs. Potter, with seven children, one of them not a month old, were turned out, at the hour of midnight, into the fields.....

“In June, 1797, a party of the Ancient Britons (a fencible regiment commanded by Sir Watkins Wm. Wynne,) were ordered to examine the house of Mr.

Rice, an inn-keeper in the town of Coolavil, county of Armagh, for arms; but, on making very diligent search, none could be found. There were some country people drinking in the house and discoursing in their *native language*; the soldiers damned their *eternal Irish souls*, that they were speaking *treason*, and instantly fell on them with their swords and maimed several desperately. Miss Rice was so badly wounded that her life was despaired of, and her father escaped with much difficulty, after having received many cuts from the sabres of these assassins.....

“ In June some persons had been refreshing themselves at an Inn in Newtown Ards, county of Down, kept by a Mr. M'Cormick, and it was alledged that they were overheard uttering words termed *seditions*. M'Cormick was, afterwards, called on to give information who they were; he denied having any knowledge of them, observing that many people might come into his house whom he did not know, and for whom he could not be accountable; he was taken into custody, and next day his house and extensive property were reduced to ashes. The house of Doctor Jackson was torn down *on suspicion* of his being an *United Irishman*; and many other houses in that town and barony were destroyed, or otherwise demolished, by English Fencibles, on similar pretexts.

“ On the 22nd of June, Mr. Joseph Clotney, of Ballinahinch, was committed to the Military Barracks, Belfast, and his house, furniture, and books, worth three thousand pounds, destroyed; also the valuable house of Mr. Armstrong, of that place, was totally demolished.

“ In the month of April last a detachment of the Essex Fencibles, then quartered in Enniskillen, were ordered, under the command of a Captain and Adjutant, accompanied by the First Fermanagh Yeomanry, into an adjoining country, to search for arms; about two o'clock in the morning they arrived at the house of one Durnian, a farmer, which, without any previous intimation whatever, they broke open, and on entering

## APPENDIX VII.

## BARBARITIES COMMITTED IN NAAS.

LETTER FROM THE REV. P. DUNN, P. P., TO THE  
ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

“*Naas, June 25, 1801.*”

“MY LORD—I have remarked in the account which Sir Richard Musgrave has given, in his book on the late rebellion, that he has, in the article regarding Naas, made very great mis-statements. I recollect that he says, ‘that a Captain Davis was wounded,’ &c. Not one word regarding that fact *true*. There was no Captain Davis in the garrison at the time. A Captain Davis came in a short time after, who is yet alive. All the officers then in the garrison of Naas, know this to be the fact. Sir Richard Musgrave also states, that there were five hundred rebels killed in the attack at Naas. The officers then serving in the army, can give testimony, as they were witnesses that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall in that attack; but in the course of three or four months after it, fifty-seven of the number, crowded together in the street, were killed, and many of them coming out of their doors, when their huts were set on fire, and others taken out of their houses, from off their gardens, and brought to the *Ship*, as the expression was, and were hanged in the street. I know two men, one named Cardiff, the other Costello, son and son-in-law of Mr. William Costello, who lives near Craddoestown, on the Ballinamore road, who were called out of their field when at work, by a horseman, who, getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Ballimore; they, relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to jail, walked on quietly with the single dragoon, when they were brought to the inn at Naas, they were immediately conducted across the street to the *Ship*, and hanged.

“ The same day, a young man, named *Walsh*, was brought into Naas, who was said by a female, to be the person who shot Captain Swain, in the action of Prosperous. It is well known at present, he was not within sixteen miles of Prosperous, at the time of the action there: he, however, was taken, without any form of trial, to the Ship, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and then set fire to; and when left half burned, his body opened, his heart taken out, and placed on the point of a wattle, which was instantly stuck on the top of a house, where it remained, until taken down by the military marched into town, in about nine weeks after. When the body was almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house, when Mrs. Nowlan, who owned it, was obliged to give a knife, fork, and plate, and an old woman, named Daniel, was obliged to bring salt: these two women heard them say, that *Paddy ate sweet*; and confirmed it with *damn their eyes*. These two women are still living, and worthy of credit, being deemed honest and respectable in their line and situation of life.

“ Another fact mis-stated, or rather falsely asserted, in the book alluded to above: Sir Richard Musgrave says, there was a man, named Cullen, who was charged with firing three shots at a yeoman; and that a person named Kennedy, who was to prosecute, said Cullen was seen speaking to a priest, by Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor, through the bars of the jail, and in consequence of this conversation, said Kennedy denied what he before had said regarding Cullen. Perhaps a more hardy falsehood than this, could not be advanced. Mr. Kemmis, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare, that not one word, so far as regards him (Kennedy) or the priest, is true: neither is it possible it could be true; as no man of the name of Kennedy was in jail to prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was, Serjeant James Tallant, who said, that Cullen charged and fired three shots at him; but when asked by counsel, why

he did not fire at Cullen whilst he was charging and firing three shots at him? the prosecutor answered, that Cullen was in a sand-pit. But the court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, did not the same *view* which enabled him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, allow him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen? Cullen partly owes his life to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this. When it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, excited additional zeal in his counsel to petition the court to save a point of law; and the court humanely thought proper to extend the royal clemency—the matter was laid before the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assizes, and acquitted.

“Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor; Cullen’s advocates, Counsellors C. Ball and Espinasse; Baron Smith the judge before whom Cullen was tried; the Grand and Petty Juries of the successive assizes of Naas and Athy, bore testimony, that thus Cullen’s life was saved; and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of a priest.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

(Signed) “P. DUNNE, P.P.

“Rev. Dr. Troy, Dublin.”

[Copied by Mr. Clinch, from a document in the hand-writing of Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, April 7, 1836.]

## APPENDIX VIII.

### BARBARITIES COMMITTED IN KILDARE.

LETTER FROM T. FITZGERALD, ESQ., GERALDINE,  
Co. KILDARE, TO JAMES BERNARD CLINCH, ESQ.

“*Geraldine*, Dec. 20, 1802.

“DEAR SIR—Absence from home prevented my

answering your letter prior to this period; as I would feel particular satisfaction in having it in my power to communicate to you any satisfactory communication.

“ When I was examined before the council in June, 1798, Arthur Wolfe, then Attorney-General, now Lord Kilwarden, interrogated me, if I had not among my papers the Orangeman’s oath? I replied, that I had an oath, which was enclosed, under cover, to me by post, entitled the Orangeman’s oath; and the words were written upon the cover,—‘ *Rely upon it, Sir, the Orange system is rapidly increasing about the town of Athy.*’ The Attorney-General then asked, ‘ Mr. Fitzgerald, do you conceive it possible that any gentleman, or any person of principle or education, could take such an oath?’ I answered, ‘ I believed it to be the Armagh oath. The oath I do not recollect, nor did I, at the time, understand it; it spoke of rivers of blood, of wading through the Red Sea, and a brotherhood,’ &c. Many frivolous, absurd, and contradictory questions were put to me, particularly by the late unprincipled Lord Clare, to which I was an entire stranger. Lord Camden, and the majority of the council were polite and attentive.

“ After my examination closed, I prayed leave to observe to his Excellency, and the noblemen and gentlemen present, that there was one circumstance which appeared unfavourable to me. An awful silence followed; when I observed, ‘ That noble lord (pointing to Lord Clare) thought proper to supersede me as a magistrate of my county; upon which occasion, I did myself the honour of addressing your Excellency (Lord Camden), requesting an investigation of my conduct. Your Excellency did politely acknowledge the receipt of my letter, referring me to the Lord Chancellor, to whose department the transaction belonged. I then addressed the Lord Chancellor, who did not think proper to condescend to answer my letter. I now call upon his lordship to state any solitary instance wherein I either neglected my duty or overacted.’ After waiting a few moments, in vain,

for a reply, I observed, that 'it appeared easier to his lordship to reconcile to his honour and justice leaving an unfavourable impression of me, than I could reconcile the propriety of such conduct to my mind.' His lordship was so irritated, that he arose from the table, and walked in an agitated manner about the room. During the remainder of his life, he was a most inveterate enemy of mine. Lord Camden appeared highly gratified at my observing upon his lordship.

" Upon the 28th of April, 1798, my house, offices, and grounds, which are very considerable, were taken possession of by 120 cavalry and infantry, and twelve officers, who possessed themselves of all kinds of property within and without, and what they could not consume, sent to Athy barracks. They continued in possession about thirty days, until the press of the times obliged them to change their position. Upon the approach of the military, my wife and family, of course, were obliged to fly my habitation, without the shortest previous intimation; and I was sent, under a military escort, to Dublin, where, after an arrest of ninety-one days, I was liberated, without the slightest specific charge of any kind. At the time of my arrest, I commanded as respectable a corps of cavalry as any in the kingdom, containing fifty-six in number, and not the slightest impropriety was ever attached to any of its members. From the time the military possessed themselves of my residence, the most iniquitous enormities were every where practised upon the people of the country; their houses plundered, their stock of all kinds seized, driven to the barracks, and sold by auction; their persons arrested, and sentenced to be flogged, at the arbitrary will of the most despicable wretches of the community. A man of the name of Thomas James Rawson of the lowest order, the offal of a dunghill, had every person tortured and stripped, as his cannibal will directed. He would seat himself in a chair, in the centre of a ring formed around the triangles, *the miserable victims kneeling under the tri-*

*angle, until they would be spotted over with the blood of the others.* People of the name of Cromin were thus treated. He made the father kneel under the son while flogging, the son under the father, until they were mutually covered with the blood of each other: this, without any specific crime, only what was termed 'speculation,' to make them '*whistle.*' They gave an innocent man five hundred lashes (as they were afterwards obliged to acknowledge). The man considered himself dying, requested a priest. They dressed a solicitor in black clothes, and sent him to the unfortunate man, as a clergyman, who, however, detected the imposture.

"With much esteem, your most faithful,

"T. FITZGERALD.

"To James B. Clinch, Esq.,  
Dublin."

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## APPENDIX IX.

MEMORANDA RESPECTING THE NORTHERN INFORMERS,—MESSRS. HUGHES, MAGINN *alias* MAGUAN, AND M'GUCKEN.

### HUGHES THE INFORMER.

*Communication from Mr. Francis Jordan, of Liverpool, respecting John Hughes.*

*"Park Cottage, Liverpool,  
Feb. 10, 1843.*

"With respect to the reference to my name, in the evidence of Hughes, when I state, that I am in my eighty-fourth year, you will not be surprised that I had totally forgotten the report of the Lords' Committee. That part of it which relates to me, is a fabrication in toto. I enclose a copy of a letter I received in reply to one of *mine* at the time, from my



friend, Cunningham Gregg, of Belfast, and also a copy of the advertisement which I requested him to insert in the *Belfast News-Letter*, the Tory paper of the day. I now join in the regret he expressed, at his not having inserted it.

“ In the year 1802, the informer, Hughes, came to Liverpool, from America, where he had been sent by or agreed to emigrate to, by government. He passed himself off here as John H. Henry, merchant. Being informed of his arrival, I had an interview with him, at which he agreed, and did before the then mayor, make oath, that the part of the depositions in the Lords’ Committee respecting me, was not his, but the fabrication of Mr. John Pollock, who pressed him to swear to it, but which he solemnly refused to do.

“ I submit these simple facts to the author of the work I have referred to. I have done with all public matters. I have served seven years as a member of the corporation, for the ward I live in, and the office of a county magistrate.

(Signed) “FRANCIS JORDAN.”

(Copy) “ *Belfast, Nov. 12, 1803.* ”

“ DEAR J.—I am sorry I cannot find the paper you sent in 1798; I examined all my papers to no purpose; I remember it well, as I had a meeting of all your friends in consequence; indeed we had a great deal of conversation on it, and we determined not to put it into the *Belfast News-Letter*, considering the information of Hughes false, and made for him to calumniate you; finding no grounds to satisfy the malice of a few, who were well known, and, as we found no honest man here considered the information true, we thought publishing it would please *them*, and could do you no good amongst your numerous friends in this quarter. I regret, now, I did not conform to your orders; excuse me! Enclosed you have, as near as I can remember, the copy of the document. The original I hope will turn up, as I shall continue my

endeavours to find it, I am sure it must be amongst my papers.

“Your’s sincerely,  
(Signed) “CUNN. GREG.”

(Copy.)

“Observing in the reports, stated to be given before the Committee of Parliament, by an informer, named Hughes, who therein asserts that I was treasurer of the county Antrim, I take the earliest opportunity of declaring that the said assertion is false; as far as regards me, is an infamous falsehood.

(Signed) “FRANCIS JORDAN.  
“Liverpool, 1798.”

“I cannot say the exact date; it was in the summer of the year.

(Signed) “C. G.”

SUBSTANCE OF A DEPOSITION, SWORN BEFORE THE  
MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL, BY JOHN HUGHES, IN  
1804.

“I, John Hughes, formerly of Belfast, stationer, but now residing in the United States, having read the Report of the House of Lords’ Committee of Ireland, in which it is stated that I said Mr. Francis Jordan, of Belfast, was treasurer of the United Irishmen of the county Antrim, do swear that I made no such declaration; that the same is, in my opinion, falsificated by the Crown Solicitor, who urged me to swear to the deposition, but which I refused, stating it contained a number of falsehoods.”

#### HOPE’S PAPERS.

“Mr. Neilson’s aunt was married to Matthew Hughes. Matthew Hughes had a sister married to James Hughes, and John Hughes was their son. Mr. Neilson’s mother’s maiden name was Carson; she had a brother married in the Hughes’ family. There were different families of the Hughes, all respectable

may tell me upon a cool inquiry, my feelings rejoice at it. I told the Chancellor of your Exchequer here, that I would prefer a union with the Beys and Mamelukes of Egypt to that of being under the iron rod of the Mamelukes of Ireland, but, alas, I fear that a union will not remedy the ills of poor Erin. The remnants of old oppression and new opinions, that lead to anarchy (to use the words of a foolish milk and water letter), still keep the field of battle, and until one side be defeated the country is not safe. Another project upon which I have been consulted is, to grant salaries, or pension, to the Catholic Clergy of the higher and lower order. The conditions upon which they are to be granted, as first proposed to me, are directly hostile to the interests of religion, and, taken in the most favourable point of view, must be detrimental to the Catholics, by cutting asunder the slender remaining ties between the pastor and his flock, by turning the discipline and laws of the church into a mercantile, political speculation, and must end in making the people unbelievers and, consequently, Jacobins, upon the French scale. Whether the Prelates of Ireland have courage, or energy enough to oppose any such project so hurtful to religion I will not say. Indeed the infernal popery laws have lessened the courage of the clergy, as well as destroyed the honesty and morals of the people, and my affection for my native land is not so effaced as to enable me to say, with our countryman after he had gone to bed, "Arrah let the house burn away, what do I care who am only a lodger." I request you will write to me, by post, as long and as minutely as your avocations will permit. How many students have you? Why do all the children of the nobility and gentry come over to school here, and to very indifferent schools too, instead of going to yours? They will soon become as stupid and as prejudiced as English Catholics.

Your's, faithfully,

T. HUSSEY.

## ARMS BILL.

During the Duke of Bedford's administration one of the most confidential friends of Grattan had a communication with the latter, respecting the measures that would be beneficial to the country. That friend of Grattan (my informant) said, on the occasion referred to, that he foresaw little good would come from the Duke's administration, liberal as it was, unless two things were done, namely, the dismissal of all the subordinate agents in office who were opposed to his government, and the disarming of the orangemen who, having retained the arms intrusted to them in the year 1798, from that unhappy period had continued to employ them for factious purposes, to the great detriment of the interests of the state, and the constant terror of the defenceless Catholic inhabitants of the Northern counties.

Grattan listened to the suggestion with attention, and with those external manifestations of his emotions which were peculiar to him when he was suddenly excited on any subject; he thrust his hands through his hair, swung round on his chair, and said—you are right, you are right! There is no other way to get fair play for the measures of a government that means honestly to the country. It was some time after this conversation had taken place that Grattan prepared the head of a bill professedly for disarming the people, but really for the purpose of disarming the orangemen, in accordance with his friend's suggestion. In the meantime a change of administration occurred, the tories came into power, the heads of Grattan's intended measure, in his hand-writing, were found in the Secretary's office. It being thus found was considered tantamount to his having been pledged to bring it forward. He was now called upon to support a measure embodying the specific principles of his project, an insurrection bill for disarming the people, searching houses, &c. Grattan *did* support that bill, and said he did so, because he *had* reason to believe

“ there was a French party then in Ireland.” This act of Grattan’s was fatal to his popularity in Ireland; the people were enraged, and the idol of that people, at a former period, narrowly escaped being murdered at the next election. His friend, to whom I have already alluded, saw him on his arrival in Dublin on that occasion. Grattan spoke to him about his chances of success, and the general opinion that was entertained in Ireland of his conduct in Parliament; his friend said, he could not pretend to say what others thought of it, but his own humble opinion was—“ that he (Mr. Grattan) was wrong, very wrong, to have consented to support that bill; his answer to the application for his support to a tory minister should have been, I will not give my support to this measure though it is analagous, in some things, to mine, because those ministers in whom I had confidence, when the heads of that measure of mine were drawn up, are not in power to carry it out, and the execution of any thing similar to it could not safely be entrusted to the enemies of the people.” Grattan’s reply was—“ I wish I had seen it in that light.”



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